

**POPULATION:** CANADA'S TAD HOMER-DIXON SPARKS A GLOBAL DEBATE

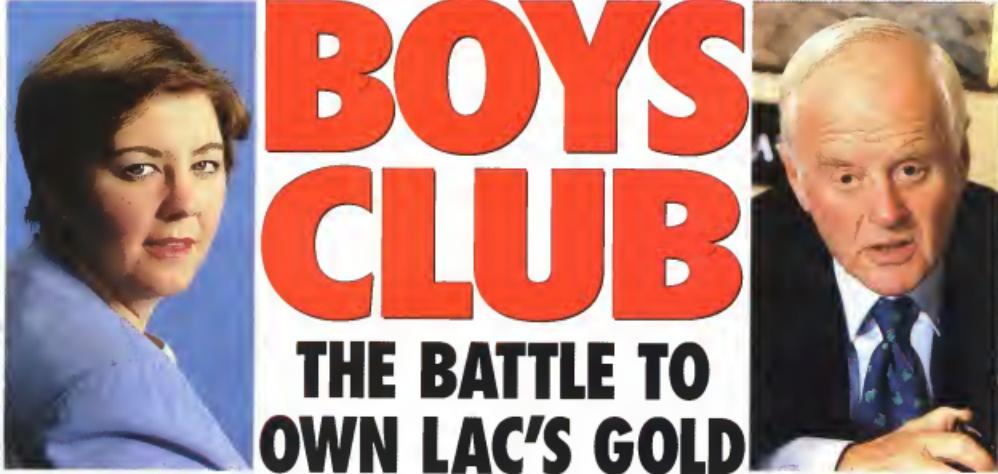
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 5, 1994 \$3.50

# Maclean's

## PEGGY MEETS THE BOYS CLUB

### THE BATTLE TO OWN LAC'S GOLD



**THE OUTSIDER:**

PEGGY WITTE  
Royal Oak Mines

**THE INSIDER:**

PETER MUNK  
American Barrick



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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSPAPER  
SEPTEMBER 5, 1994 VOL 117 NO 38

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## Peggy meets the Boys

30 When Peggy Wite of Royal Oak Mines first sprang her takeover offer for Lac Minerals Ltd., she raised eyebrows and blood pressure in male-dominated mining circles. Still, she gave the Big Boys, including American Birck's Peter Mark, a run for their money. And even though she may not win Lac, she has inspired us—and made some money, too.

## Looking for trouble



18 At 38, Ted Bremer-Dixon is one of Canada's most talked-about and controversial politicians. But while the Clinton administration has endorsed his research on the impact of population growth, critics label him a prophet of doom.



## Island of death

42 Visiting Irish President Mary Robinson laid a wreath on Gneuse-De, a tiny island near Quebec City where thousands of poor Irish immigrants died of disease in the mid-19th century. Parks Canada now plans to develop the island as a national historic site—a place to remember a momentous tragedy.



# If The PQ Wins

The premier of Canada had gathered for a meeting in Toronto in an atmosphere of national crisis. "Up to six months ago" one declared, "I never believed a separate Quebec would become a reality." The gathering was New Brunswick's then-MLA Lester Louis Robichaud, and the occasion was the opening of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, hosted by Quebec's John Robarts in November, 1987. Robarts had called the summit against a nationalistic climate. Charles de Gaulle of France had ignited separatist sentiment in Quebec after the 1970s, with his infamous "Vive le Québec libre" speech. At the gathering, 1.5 million Quebecers and their heirs in Montreal known as the Exiles. General Pauline was racing to position her Quebecois as French Canada's national minority. "Our conference participants declared, 'We are very far from becoming a colony,' " says Robe Lévesque.

In Toronto, Quebec's Union Nationale Premier, Daniel Johnson, responded to the nationalism with a swelling a plan for a dramatic overhaul of Confederation. While reiterating his commitment to Canada, he called for the recognition of "two nations" and "complete federal severability" for provinces, including in matters of health, finance and foreign relations. In the end, there was a compromise and the process led to subsequent constitutional changes. Canada stayed together.

The next Ontario Premier Bob Rae will play host to a similar meeting of Canada's premiers, including Johnson's son, Daniel Jr., the Quebec Liberal leader who is at the center of a provincial election. Robichaud's manuscript may be even more apt. While the campaign



Johnson Jr., wife Suzanne, in demonstration, change.

do As the premiers discussed in 1987, governments can make progress if they do not get hung up on preserving the status quo. All rights of the country—not just Quebec—will change. Lucky people everywhere have had to adapt to big changes at their own lives. So will Canada. That is what history tells us.

Robert Lewis

## Maclean's

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## 'Only in Canada'

Albie Fetherstonehough writes: "As the mess of Canadian sport, Maple Leaf Gardens—Canada's holy grail of hockey" ("Diving in the Canadian way," Colours, Aug. 25). Well, Messrs. Fetherstonehough, didn't you get carried away somewhere? It seems to me Canada has, for the time being, at least two sports messes. I happen to live near the Montreal Forum where an un tatsäch 28 Stanley Cup pennants hang from the rafters. Soviet players used to refer to the old Forum as the temple of hockey. Only in Canada did you say?

Jean-Cyr Léveillé,  
Montreal



1983 Montreal Canadiens Stanley Cup champions: *at least two sports messes*

special treatment; and that after a short period of time will be back on the streets. I agree it is the only reason that these masses do not get deported, that they get short sentences and that their criminal record gets wiped out. I think it's a poor excuse. If someone feels old enough to commit an adult crime, that person should be tried in adult court and sentenced accordingly.

Jeanine Payne,  
Gatineau, Que.

honest) in with the rest of us you call well-endured. I am so insulted.

Mike Gough,  
Peterborough, Ont.

## Basic rights

I was most disappointed in your article "Born to be real" (Bookends, Aug. 22), which failed to mention the growing number of women riding Harley-Davidson motorcycles. I bought my first one at 35, then traded my Sportster for a customs Softail. I enjoyed my new hobby so much, I surprised my husband with a Heritage Softail for his birthday. We have enjoyed many riding hours together. But this is one woman who would never be seen on the boudoir.

Jeanne Wright,  
Victoria, B.C.

## Front-seat driver

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Douglas L. Martin,  
Rivière-du-Loup

## Wrong message?

As an inspiring teacher—who works with African youth—and as a Canadian, I was appalled by the cover of your recent "Kids who kill" issue (Aug. 13). The headline, striking photograph of the male youth in profile holding a pistol, sends an appalling,戎nerated message. There is a clear, chilling disengagement between this idealized student and your genuine article about youth who committed ghastly crimes against innocent people. Your iniquitous cover is symptomatic of a sick North American society that continues to glorify and promote the Americanization of violence.

Ronan MacPherson,  
Winnipeg

Why is it that so much attention is given to criminals? Who cares who all they are? They have committed a terrible crime and they should be punished. It takes us all to know that the offenders get all sorts of

I wonder why you wrote an article about a bunch of people that ride Harley's when the author is five or six months old? What's the author's age or the model bike she's on? Rather than write about the people who ride for the love of riding and give their money to a good cause, your article concentrated on some guys who spent a weekend in Fredericton, N.B., at the Bike for Sight—who don't know anything about cameras or riding. It was the people who don't make a difference, income, own dogs, have watches or Gated shores that like Harley-Davidson from starting. To group these guys you call 10th rich urban

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# OPENING NOTES

## A BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER, WHY?

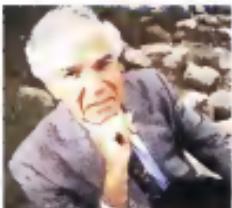
Propose to pave roads and build bridges have long been a part of Canadian election campaigns. But a bridge straight through one of Quebec's most famous beauty spots? Gérard Tremblay, the Parti Québécois candidate in the riding of Saguenay, has promised that a PQ government would look into the feasibility of a \$300-million span across the Saguenay River just above where it joins the St. Lawrence—and would expect the federal government to pick up most of the cost. The purpose of the bridge, he adds, would be to improve the depressed economy of Quebec's North Shore region by creating a little bottleneck caused by the existing ferry service. Many area people have endorsed the proposal, says Tremblay, in speaking to the thousands of tourists who visit the region every year to admire the unspoiled scenery, often by ferry. Still, Gagnon notes that Ottawa is spending about \$2 billion to link the 330,000 Prince Edward Islands to New Brunswick, and "Prince Edward Island has roughly the same population as we have for the North Shore." Perhaps, but for Ottawa, the Saguenay could prove to be a bridge too far.



Nath: nothing to satisfy media junkies

## MR. LANDSLIDE

It's a long way from the flat prairie of Alberta to the precipitous slopes of Hong Kong. But a University of Alberta engineering professor's unparalleled understanding of landslide dynamics has made his services in demand when tragedy strikes in the island colony. In Hong Kong, Norbert Morgenstern, 56, of Edmonton, is known as "Mr. Landslide." The government there promptly called on him to investigate when a slide on July 23 destroyed a residential area on one of the steep hills overlooking the city, killing three people. "Mr. Landslide" is the world's leading expert



on these things," said Philip Chan, a spokesman for the government's geotechnical engineering office. "We had to bring him in." Morgenstern has investigated numerous catastrophes around the world, including previous slides in Hong Kong. He still receives three to four calls from the city every year, he says. "It's a bit like the weather," he says. "There's a tendency to head out in risky areas. And that may keep Mr. Landslide returning to Hong Kong."

Morgenstern: the landslide savior

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *A Star in the Circus*, Jina Jing (2)
2. *Exit, Honk*, Tom Ganz (2)
3. *The Diviners Prophecy*, Louis Bayliff (2)
4. *The Bridge of Madison County*, Robert Wierwille (2)
5. *Brother Frank's Omega Men*, W. P. Kinsella (2)
6. *Southern Gothic*, Shirley Watson (2)
7. *Dark City Blues*, James Lee Burke (2)
8. *Playing for Keeps*, Shoshanna Gobz (2)
9. *The Hippopotamus*, Stephen Frey (2)
10. *The Chamber*, John Conlee (2)

### NONFICTION

1. *In the Kitchen with Brotis*, Rosemary Brotis (2)
2. *Kids Are Worth It*, Barbara Coloris (2)
3. *Shaken by the Light*, Betty Carter (2)
4. *Divorce Without S. & Without Pain* (2)
5. *It Ain't Always*, Jennifer Donahue (2)
6. *Moving Beyond Words*, Glynne Stevens (2)
7. *The Perfume of the Morning*, Steven Brust (2)
8. *The Way We Are*, Margaret Flax (2)
9. *A Journey Through Economic Times*, John Greenleaf (2)
10. *The Tribe of Judah*, Elizabeth Bowen (2)
11. *Medicalized Mothers*, Linda Ellinor (2)
12. *The Glimmerglass*, Gail Doherty (2)

Compiled by Brian Bellone

## POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box-office results during the seven days ending on August 13 (figures: number of moviegoers surveyed):

1. *Forrest Gump* (131,100)
2. *Concord and Present Danger* (31,048,000)
3. *Die Hard With a Vengeance* (21,700,000)
4. *True Lies* (11,700)
5. *Color of Night* (9,700)
6. *The Lime King* (9,700)
7. *In the Line of Fire* (9,600)
8. *Amnes* (8,700)
9. *The Little Mermaid* (5,000)
10. *The Glimmerglass* (3,000)

Source: National Box Office



At ease in *The Chamber* are the  
chamber maestroing?

Edited by JOE CHIDLEY

## CHECKERS TECH

In one corner, Marion Tinsley, the mastermind of the game. Opposing him, the computer, a program developed by computer scientist David Chmelir of the University of Western Ontario. The older checkers program, The two last met before, in 1990, 1991 and 1992. But Tinsley, a Pennsylvania boy, was all three times. This year, however, Chmelir's processing capability was 10 times faster than in 1992, allowing it to analyze 32 million checkers moves every minute. In the first week of play at the Canadian Masters in Breslau, man and machine played six games to a draw. But then the human claimed a determined checkers victory. On Aug. 19, Tinsley, 61, became ill and withdrew from the tournament—causing a computer program to grab the world men's-and-women's checkers championship by default. Last week, Chmelir was officially defended in hisague. Tinsley's replacement and the world's No. 2, Don Luloff of Kentucky. But in this program developer, Johnathan Schaeffer (remember, the wimpy chess player?—Chmelir's red tagger)—soured the victory. "Nokola's a happy hero," he said. Maybe, but did anyone check with Chmelir?



**NEGOTIATING:** The terms of a legal plea to criminal counts stemming from a U.S. federal bank fraud investigation, sports entrepreneurship and tax evasion. **BEAN McNAUL:** 54, who is expected to enter a formal plea in late September. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, McNaul has agreed to plead guilty to one count of bank fraud, two counts of mail fraud and one count of conspiracy—and will likely face imprisonment when he is sentenced next year. **McNAUL:** was sole owner of the LA Kings from 1985 until May, when financial difficulties forced him to sell 72 per cent of the NHL franchise. In the same month, he and his partners in ownership of the Toronto Maple Leafs—the Canadian Football League—slugs star Wayne Gretzky and the estate of comedian John Candy, who died in March—sold the team to The Sports Network.

**BAHNER:** For 15 months from playing soccer nationally or internationally for taking a banned stimulant during the World Cup tournament in Japan, Argentine star Diego Maradona by the disciplinary panel of FIGO, soccer's governing body in 1991, Maradona was suspended from international competition for 15 months after a drug test indicated he had taken cocaine.

**SENTENCED:** Madonna killer To-did Lawrence, 26, of Alberta to 12 months in jail after changing a plea around the singer's Los Angeles estate. Madonna was a court order barring him from making contact with her or staying in her house or office for three years.

**RESIGNED:** Jeffrey Katzenberg, 43, chairman of Walt Disney Studios after 18 years that saw the creation of such smash hit animated movies as *The Little Mermaid*, *The Lion King* and *The Road to El Dorado*.

**SAID NO:** British composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, by American star Faye Dunaway, writing \$1 million in damages against her for all rights to his musical *Evita*. But he added that public performances of *Evita* would be allowed to continue. "I am deeply sorry for the increase. But other experts used with *Star City* 'We're simply not in the mode of a major catastrophe,' says Ned Boyce, director of the school of environmental science at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. But he added that the public perception of *Evita* is so likely to change the more people are accustomed to seeing the more they will believe it is everywhere. Even if the cruise rate goes down."

**ON STANHILL:** Pittsburgh Penguins star Mario Lemieux, 32, for a year, according to reports he himself was expected to confirm this week. Lemieux has a life-threatening immune blood condition triggered by radiation treatment he received for Hodgkin's disease.

MARCIAN SEPTEMBER 3, 1994 7

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## COLUMN



# The new enforcers for the disabled

BY BARBARA AMIEL

For the past week, I have been reading material associated with Ontario's new Advocacy Act, which takes full effect in 1995. As some of you will be surprised, as reality it evokes credibility. In theory, the Advocacy Act is there to provide help for physically and mentally handicapped people over the age of 16 who have been enumerated in some way. The act creates an Advocacy Commission (that selects, hires and administers a vast bureaucracy of "advocates"). Under the act, no one can file a complaint to the commission if that majority of the 14 commissioners "should" have had a physical or mental disability at one time or are currently likely to result in a physical or mental disability, or are 65 years of age or older.

The commissioners named so far are described in published biographies, responses and their qualifications. They include: (1) an attorney, Premier Bob Rae's special adviser David Brindle, who was once "involuntarily committed" to Kingston Psychiatric Hospital; (2) an AIDS activist, Glyn a diabetic hemodialysis; (3) a woman described as "a lifelong advocate for marginalized Ontarians," whose professional life has been divided among Revenue Canada Taxation and the fields of employment equity and special interest group policy; (4) a qualified statistician; (5) a senior citizen and professional radio consultant; (6) a senior citizen and great-grandmother; (7) an injured Inco employee Ontario legislator; (8) a woman who is described as "a acknowledged leader of the psychiatric movement."

If anyone can do not describe people who have been to a psychiatrist as "patients" any more, that is patrimonial. Anyone who has been treated or involved with the psychiatric profession is now called a "survivor" of the psychiatric system.

The act defines the vulnerable as "a person who, because of a moderate to severe mental or physical disability, illness or infirmity,

for their actions. You cannot sue them for the harm they do, provided they think they were doing good."

The language of the act makes it clear that if you are a vulnerable person, you are to be vulnerable, you are. There is no objective test. Now the HRC's committee can tell psychologists how to treat their patients according to ideologically correct principles, or, even worse, issue the Human Rights Commission to inject itself into yet another situation. If a person feels marginalized, and acts as evidence that they are not loved enough or promoted in a family or company situation, the advocate can start libelous/defamatory proceedings.

In every area of life we can find examples of individuals not being treated in accordance with their wishes. Actually, the greatest offender is the government itself. Many parents, for example, see their children being given classroom school that are alien to their religious values or concern worse. But the choices of any parent successfully asking the Advocacy Commission to act on a complaint about the agenda of the progressive left's non-institutional area is nil—even a "vulnerable" disabled parent making such a complaint would be marginalized out of existence. Of course there are instances of truly callous treatment of the handicapped, elderly or mentally ill and one has to be able to evidence such things.

That is why we have complaint procedures, royal commissions, civil litigation, professional misconduct, discipline and so forth. Nothing will totally eliminate abuses, but surely by now everyone has taught us that trying to control the situation by creating entities of commissioners is even worse.

Commissioners are the bone of humanity. If they can be identified at birth and destroyed they will be a great help, but even that task could not be done without the aid of their own tool. Superficially, commissioners are often indistinguishable from genuinely helpful and caring people.

Indeed, they can be human beings in whom the human spirit has undergone a malignant change of growth. That is why you can do about the commission type, just like cancer, the case studies as they will exist in every society together with the aggressive, lecherous, creative, criminal and hundreds of other human types.

It is possible that the state will be the tame being who will strip off all the differences that this act permits. They may yet fail, for example, respond through "advocacy" to the 18-year-old girl whose parents wish to stop her from dining a person of another religion or race.

But there is no question that the act gives them the power to control the girl that she does not have to leave her parents. That is what the Advocacy Act is really about, a further tool to eliminate any independence or autonomy that remains in both the family and the professions. And why has there been no great outcry? Because the Advocacy Act is designed by and for every special-interest group. Only the general public will suffer.

# A CASUAL AFFAIR

Sensing victory,  
Jacques Parizeau's  
campaign operates  
on cruise control



Jacques Parizeau is wearing white—white cap and a white suit of the kind once favored by country doctors. He is dressed, in fact, just like everybody else inside the food processing plant in the South Shore town of Brossard, 25 km down the St. Lawrence river from Quebec City. And as he deftly weaves his way around the factory floor, marked by a page of white-robed bodies, it is obvious that the Parti Québécois leader is in no hurry. He pauses to much appreciatively on a proffered slice of steaming brioche, the traditional Québécois meat pie, while chatting amiably with the workers, pausing briefly for the news photographers and smilingly patting sound buns into the ever-present backlog of unselected meatpies. Behind his decisively easy smile lies a man who is engaged with a heavy of handshakes, a few grins, a hearty one-armed embrace to his right, each with a fine politeness, not at all what I expected.

There was indeed something a little surprising about the election effort being waged by Parizeau last week. Despite the importance of voting day on Sept. 25, the sq leader's campaign was remarkable, ironically for what it lacked—any clear sense of urgency. The pace was leisurely, almost even, in the manner of a springtime promenade than a hectic race in search of votes. Unlike Premier Daniel Johnson's organ-grinders, Parizeau's hoolives have taken pains to ensure that "Montmorency," schedule in hand so that he is likely to under the fire that held his name for last week, when the Liberal leader was temporarily knocked off the haystack by a host of layabouts. "We don't have to dash around," the deputy leader, Bernard Landry remarked as he witnessed Pauline Marois on a two-day tour through the



Parizeau visiting a food-processing plant in Montmorency: "much a nice man."

Brossard region, a former Liberal stronghold south of Quebec City where voters are now leaning towards the PQ. "We're winning," Landry's confidence was understandable. The latest weekly *L'Opinion publique* poll, released on Aug. 26, showed the Parti Québécois enjoying a five-percentage-point lead over the Liberals. With the majority of the Liberal vote still concentrated in a few largely anglophone ridings, that margin is suf-

ficient to give the Parti Québécois a majority government. The same poll, however, indicated that nearly 60 per cent of Québécois oppose sovereignty—up slightly from a week before. These findings appear to resolve in the Brossard region, where the Liberals captured six of the area's eight seats in the 1989 provincial election. During a dramatic shift in public sentiment, Johnson's team will be hard to hold even two of those constituencies. "I'm certainly leaning towards the Provinces right now," says Anne-Marie Lachance, a middle-aged housewife in the

town of St-Georges-de-Beauce, as she picks up a carton of milk in a corner store. "It's not that I like the idea of sovereignty very much," she adds after a moment of reflection, "but I do think that the Liberals have been in power for too long."

Landry's comment underscores what continues to be the most contentious—some say divisive—aspect of the Quebec election campaign. "We know getting the same contemporary message," complains a mildly perplexed Liberal party organizer in the Beauce, who asked not to be named. "People around here tell us they don't particularly like either the PQ leader or the PQ's main plank. At the same time, an awful lot of them seem to be intent on voting for the PQ just doesn't make much sense."

Logical or not, the Provinces are certainly aware of the widespread popular sentiment. Last week, several news organizations received a faxed letter on PQ stationery that instructed the party's executives not to discuss Quebec in dependence with reporters. And Parizeau himself displayed his famous temper on two occasions during his swing through the Beauce region when foreign reporters pressed the separatist issue. "We've been asked questions of that kind at just about every news or press conference," he grumbled—since the beginning of the campaign. "Panama" told a Washington Post correspondent during a stop in the little town of Saint-Damase-de-Bellechasse, "I don't particularly like it when we are trying to explain a party program, someone—mainly to English—tries to open a sideline."

Parizeau's impatience may reflect the fact that internal party surveys are beginning to detect

## QUEBEC'S CAMPAIGN: WEEK 5

• Federal Finance Minister Paul Martin wanted into the Quebec election campaign by sharply criticizing the PQ's Québecois economic platform. Martin said that the PQ shows a "total disregard for debt and deficit."

• A report released by the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute told that every man, woman and child in Quebec would owe \$26,000 as their share of the national debt if the provinces separated. The report also said that Quebecers would see their taxes rise by as much as 53.6 per cent if an independent Quebec offered the current level of social services. PQ Leader Jacques Parizeau and the report have "irreconcilable" and accused the institute of waging economic terrorism.

"As we get closer to election day, voters are less and less concerned about the sovereignty issue."

—Ricard Léveillé (Montreal)

what politicos describe as a voter "caution" in places like the Beauce, with some showing signs of returning to the Liberal fold because of growing unease about the Parti Québécois's separatist aspirations. In fact, lingering doubt about the wisdom of Quebec going its own way remains the one factor that may yet bring Parizeau's victory much to a halt. Certainly it is one that the Liberals will need to exploit to the full to have any chance of injecting some sense of urgency into Parizeau's campaign.

HARRY CAMP in Montmorency

# Caught by the goblins

He can be a bushy-tempered ogre, especially if you are a Federalist polecat leading an angular party in a pre-ordained election race in Quebec. You never know what weird twist of fate awaits you at the corner. You want to talk about John, John, John, but out there, lurking in the shadows, are the goblins—language, Constitution—sitting at your thesis.

Ask Quebec Premier Daniel Johnson, he knows. When *The Gazette* in Montreal—a staunch Federalist newspaper if there is one, and a dedicated user of the province's French only language—how—attacked Johnson last week for slaving little respect for Bill 86, Quebec's language law, Johnson became quite literally apoplectic.

No way, Let's be like him! He'll yell, with invective. But here is what happened:

Campaigning at Vaudreuil, his predominantly English-speaking, west-side riding (closer to the Ontario border than to downtown Montreal), Johnson showed a very detached reaction to the English-only and French—canonized signs visible now where he was campaigning. (Since the previous election he relaxed the controversial language law last year, allowing a new form of bilingualism on signs, the controversy has all but vanished and, in English-speaking neighbourhoods, English only signs have reappeared, as protest and as protest.)

Prodded by reporters about what he thought the province's language law was all about, Johnson mumbled, "I don't know," and quickly added that he was about to leave. Johnson, though he was being cool, took the魁becois approach. Nobody seems to have complained about the signs, he said. If some one did, he added, their complaint will be duly registered and processed.

Jackson's perceived indifference towards the province's sacred—and according to the Supreme Court of Canada, unconstitutional—language law acted as a red flag waved in front of the nationalist movement, which, to that point, had been a dominant force in the campaign. The premier, who is massively supported by English-speaking and so-called allophone Quebecers, is being held behind Jacques Parizeau's Parti

Québécois among the majority French-speaking voters who came under fire from the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste and the Mouvement national des Québécois for their view demonstrating in little concern for the protection of the French language and culture.

He didn't need to.

Two days later, The Gazette came down on the side of the nationalists in an editorial and an op-ed page column which said, basically, that the law may be unwise, but it is the law, and must be respected—if, that is, you are the premier and think it is adequate.

Johnson didn't need that either. Neither did he need the sympathy that forced him to take two critical days off the campaign trail. That temporary illness forced him to cancel all his planned engagements—oh, that is, but an interview with the editorial board of *Le Devoir*. In retrospect, he must think he should have canceled that one as well.

In that interview, Johnson stuck to his line of saying that he would not respect the constitution. He endures on a mostly holy war against the federal government and the other provinces over the "traditional demands" of Quebec. Quebec does not care about the constitutional intricacy, he says. What they want to hear about is jobs and oil revenue.

Understandingly for Johnson, *Le Devoir*, jointly with *Le Globe* and *MDM* and Quebec's TSN television network, that day was publishing a public opinion poll indicating that a majority of Quebec do want the constitutional law respected—and quickly acted—sooner rather than later who was the provincial election.

All that happened in the days leading up to this week's crucial, winner-take-all televised debate between Johnson and Parizeau—the first such debate to be held in Quebec in 33 years. And it placed Johnson in the exact position he had had to then successfully avoid on the defense of the issues of language and the Constitution.

Quebecers are clearly not at a bare Canada road; there is no nationalist frenzy gripping the crowds, and support for separation is low. But the old, unshed constitutional problems are still there, festering, the public, contrary to the words of Johnson or of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, has not forgotten about them.

BENJAMIN ALEXANDER, managing editor of *Le Devoir* in Montreal

# The spy who did too much

To the great, tangled ethics of espionage and paid informants, there has always been only a thin and tenuous line between serving a part and living it. One infamous example in Russia in 1998: Yakov Sverdlov, one of the members of the Bolshevik Organisation in St. Petersburg, worried that his group had been infiltrated by a government spy. More than a decade later, after the Bolsheviks had overthrown the Tsarist government and seized its files, Sverdlov learned he was both high and wrong: all of the other four members of the group had been, *Centrist* informers.

Perhaps that precedent will provide solace to the anonymous, unknown number of employees of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), which last week sounded the alarm of the stinkiest works in its already checkered 15-year history. But for now, CSIS needs all the help it can get in defending the actions of Grant Brewster, a mysterious Torontonian allegedly paid by CSIS to spy on one of the country's largest neo-Nazi groups, the Toronto-based Heritage Front—and who, according to various recent media reports, proceeded to try to gather intelligence on everything from the Reform Party of Canada to at least one of the country's traditional Jewish organizations. To determine if, well, this is not likely to get much help from unenlightened members of the Liberal government, who last week promised to hold a parliamentary inquiry into the matter. It is even less likely to win sympathy from opposition MPs, after revelations that Brewster expanded his activities by working briefly in Reform party Leader Preston Manning's scarcely-dead last year. That alleged effort to spy on what is now one of the country's three largest political parties, and Manning, "cannot be tolerated." And CSIS should probably not only heavily be paid off from the country's major media outlets, after allegations that Brewster passed on to the spy agency information about CSIS investigation into the Heritage Front—not to mention CSIS's own threats to fire The Toronto Star and The Toronto Sun both charged under the Official Secrets Act after the newspaper

published parts of confidential documents.

Still, CSIS may not need media pressure to do its best, as it did last week, from the perspective of those who are exposing it to the world. Although it is longstanding government practice to print coded numbers on confidential documents in order to identify their users, the Star proudly published a front page photograph of their leaked copy of the document.

## An alleged neo-Nazi informant sparks a parliamentary inquiry



Brewster, (left); McInnis (right); was a man bankrolled by CSIS keeping tabs on media outlets, the far-right party and Jewish organizations?

taint that were so severe that some of those top and trusted police officers

One way of the controversy is that, for once, CSIS appears to have targeted a group—the Heritage Front—which most Canadians could agree warrants surveillance. That was not always the case in the past, the security organization and its predecessor, the RCMP security service, were criticized for their of focus against Quebec separatists in the 1970s and, more recently, some ethnic groups. But Brewster's alleged actions have alienated most potential supporters. Brian Bush, Canada's executive vice-president Frank Dresen, for example, said he was "outraged" by allegations that Brewster gave information to Canadian Jewish groups to a violent American neo-Nazi group.

As well, Brewster's actions could hurt, rather than help, attempts to come to some of the accuse his sponsor, Michael Dobson, the lawyer for Heritage Front leader Wolfgang Droege, told Brewster's last week that he will likely ask for dismissal of a series of criminal charges against Droege because Brewster was present when lead defense strategy was privately discussed.

All of that inevitably evokes memories of the last time that Canada's spies received a welcome attention. In 1978, Robert南宋人, a teenage RCMP officer, went on trial in Montreal on a series of charges related to an alleged bombing attempt, on which he was later convicted and sentenced to seven years. Although through his courtroom testimony,南宋人, manipulated by aggressive questioning from the prosecution, claimed that he had done "such work" in the past on behalf of the *Front National*, subsequent revelations led to provincial and federal commissions that uncovered further evidence of RCMP wrongdoing—and ultimately to the decision to create CSIS as an independent intelligence-gathering body separate from the RCMP. Now, Canada's spy masters can expect to be asked whether they have learned from history, or allowed it to be repeated.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH ■  
NARROW CARMATTA in Ottawa

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# Sara Lee



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# A monster in their midst

**H**e is arguably New Brunswick's most infamous criminal. An over-weight man with a grapple-quit lathered, he appeared almost grandfatherly last week in a suit wearing baggy pants and a plaid shirt in the witness box in the Edmund N. Morris courtroom, 200 m. west of Fredericton between 1966 and 1985, Tol Toff, the very spouse of evil. But last week, the former police constable, who is serving 15 years in jail after being convicted on 34 counts of rape, actually portrayed himself as a victim of his company's evil crimes, of being innocent, the prey of dishonest lawyers. His final words before a judicial inquiry into his abuse at Kingsclear were an emotional plea for clemency: "I would like to apologize to those young men whom I have violated and pray that somehow they can find it in their hearts to forgive me," said a tearful Toff, who claimed to be a born-again Christian. But after watching the evidence, Norm Rose, lawyer for several of the victims, said he could only shake of his client's mien: "Personally," he declared,

"Told only their tears were credible."

Reporters surrounded lawyers in the hulky second Burton courtroom, located 20 km east of Fredericton, which had been rechristened to handle the 1981 trial of multiple murderer Alan Legere. Federal guard surrounded the tormented Tol as he entered the courthouse wearing handcuffs and leg shackles. Inside, a small group of concerned survivors, Toff's apparent supporters, watched the wobly, unshaven claims of a traumatising injury that has him trembling and sweating, insisting that provincial officials routinely ignored complaints about Toff's sexual assaults—and hating at a conspiracy that shielded the pedophile from criminal prosecution for more than 20 years. Toff's one hours of testimony also offered a chilling glimpse into the mind of a sexual predator. "People are so willing to consider me a monster of some kind," he observed at one point, as if anticipating the outrage.

In fact, much of Toff's testimony seemed

designed to elicit sympathy—perhaps, as the victim's lawyer contended, with an eye to mounting another parole. Toff claimed that, as a five- or six-year-old, he was sexually assaulted by a constable. He also recalled how he was locked out of the acreage in the early 1960s after admitting that he had taken in love with a 12-year-old girl from a Scout troupe that he led. But Toff maintained that he had been sprung on the grounds that he had been a virgin and that control of the acreage of Kingsclear at that time. His troubles, he scoffed, began in the spring of 1967 when one of the boys he worked with was sleeping with him while on a camping trip—and then, by his account, informed him.

In this instance, as in most others, Toff claimed he really did nothing wrong. While admitting to molesting up to 55 boys (most of whom have never disclosed public complaints), he maintained he never "recalled" on his victims that the sex was usually by mutual agreement—an astounding statement when contrasted with the horrific tales the inquiry



Toff arriving at the inquiry, a pedophile who eluded justice for over 20 years

had heard from dozens of Kingsclear residents. He identified shadowy only six of the 48 former residents who have told the inquiry that he forced them to have sex. The rest he said "grew up with less on their lips" and are still trying to try to get financial compensation.

Throughout much of his testimony, Toff spoke calmly and politely. But his composure dissolved when the subject turned to former New Brunswick premier Richard Heddle, who died of cancer in 1991 and who has been

repeatedly linked to the scandal. Toff denied ever meeting the then-premier—let alone, as one former Kingsclear resident testified, introducing the youth to Heddle while Toff and the then-premier were travelling in southern New Brunswick in a three-passenger Bradda sports car. (The youth insisted that Heddle offered him money for sex.) But the inquiry counsel retorted that only days before his appearance Toff failed a lie detector test when he denied knowing Heddle. "I am

not lying," Toff snapped. "I don't care what the machine says."

All the same, Toff's testimony did supply some new twists in a story that many claimed Richard Miller has fibbed to "a world out of print." The inquiry had already heard evidence indicating that, following his complaints to Toff, the then director of his services, the provincial police and provincial officials "cared not to try to change a single bone, but to stand by him and to do an injustice with no mitigation." Last week, though, Toff testified that his superiors had protected him at least one other occasion: in 1981, a member of the provincial police's sexual assault unit informed him to Comptroller Vehicle Enforcement Branch out of fear that former Kingsclear constable David Forbes, who had caught Toff molesting one of the students in 1980, might go public with his knowledge. "They might tell Forbes would be trouble," Toff scoffed.

In fact, it was due to Forbes's stalwart persistence that Toff was arrested on Sept. 9, 1981, and charged with 17 counts of sexual assault, buggery, buggery against a male, indecent assault and prison guard working at Kingsclear followed. Last week, he returned to the spotlight over, Toff returned to his Edmund, N.B., prison cell, leaving behind dozens of named victims—and new questions about how the province's justice system chose to deal with a monster in due notice.

JOHN DE MONT with BRENDA BOYD in Fredericton

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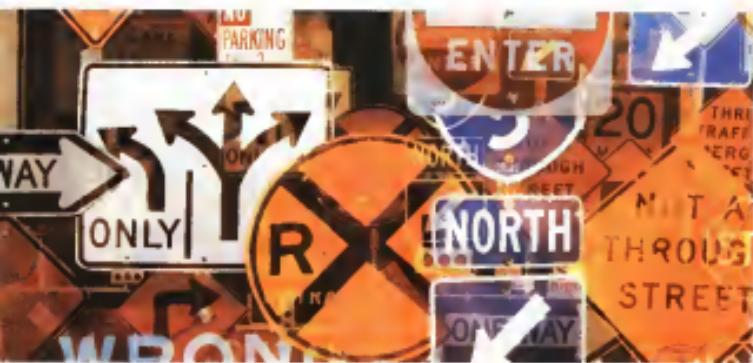


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# Canada NOTES

## YOUNG AND ARMED

A study released by Solicitor General Herb Gray said that an increasing number of Canadian schoolchildren arearming themselves with weapons. The study, based on Statistics Canada information and a survey of 570 police forces and 125 school boards, says that knives are the weapons of choice—including everything from hunting and pocket knives to machetes, meat cleavers and switchblades. The report said the weapons are viewed as a status symbol, for protection, or to intimidate other students. The most frequent users of weapons are youth in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Quebec, Ont.

## TURMOIL OVER TUNA

Nova Scotia Supreme Court Justice Donald Hell granted an injunction that ended a four-day blockade by Nova Scotia tuna fishermen at a government wharf in Shippagan, an Acadian southwestern shore. The injunction had been sought by the owners of about 70 tuna boats from Quebec, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and northern Nova Scotia whose efforts to fish for lucrative bluefin tuna had outraged local fishermen. Hell said the tuna dispute should be settled using the law of the land, "not the law of the people."

## AN ARCTIC MILESTONE

The Canadian icebreaker Louis S. St. Laurent and its American counterpart, the Polar Sea, became the first surface vessels from either country to reach the North Pole. Crew and scientists from both ships are conducting research into Arctic pollution and how the world's temperatures are affected as polar ice freezes and melts.

## JUDICIAL RESISTANCE

Justice André Brossard of the Quebec Court of Appeal told members of the Canadian Bar Association in Toronto that the focus of political controversies must be resisted. Brossard said he was particularly concerned by proposals for mandatory duties aimed at preventing judges about Hitler with an sexual assault. Such courses, he said, "would be trying to influence our minds and our spirits and interfere directly with the judicative function."

## THE FAT FACTS

The results of the Canadian Heart Health Survey indicate that most Canadians are more likely to be overweight than their urban counterparts and that obesity is more common in Atlantic Canada than in other regions. The study also found that more men than women are obese.



**FIRE ON THE WATERFRONT:** Thousands of fire-guards were ordered off Vancouver's Pacific National Exhibition grounds when smoke from a fire at a nearby grain terminal dock cut visibility and made breathing difficult. Smoke from the fire also obscured the six-lane Second Narrows bridge—one of two spans between the city and the suburban north shore. It took about 100 firefighters nearly 24 hours to quell the blaze.

## The line on law and order

Despite a Statistics Canada report last week that found that violent crime is on the decline, two federal cabinet ministers used the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Police Chiefs to pitch a strong law-and-order line. First was Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi, who told the 380 chiefs assembled in Montreal that proposed amendments to the Immigration Act would ensure that criminals who are not Canadian citizens will face a one-year mandatory jail term if they commit a crime in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Marchi justified that the amendments—which allow for the mandatory jail term for anyone who has been convicted of an offence that endangers national security or public order—will help to deter criminals from immigrating to Canada.

The following day, Justice Minister Allan Rock made the case for stiffer gun control legislation. Rock questioned why Canadians are freely encouraged to flaunt their home mortgages, cars and pets yet an estimated six million rifles and shotguns remain unregistered. He added that the federal government is considering amendments that would require all gun owners to carry a permit to buy a gun or possess it. Following Rock's remarks, the chiefs issued resolutions calling for a ban on military-style weapons, tighter controls on the sale ofammunition and tougher legislation for immigrants who commit crimes.

# Looking for trouble

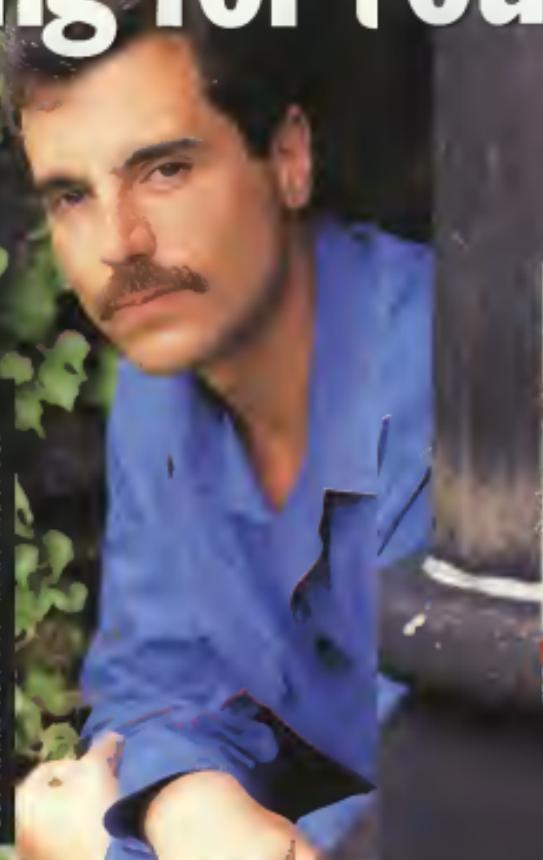
SPECIAL REPORT

**Tad Homer-Dixon's prophecies for a crowded planet have created a stir in Washington**

BY ROSS LAVIER

**S**ophomoric, mathcadish and unflinchingly contentious, Thomas Homer-Dixon is not the kind of person who flies off the handle at a perceived insult. But there is a noticeable edge to his voice as he discusses an article in the British magazine *The Economist* branding him an "extreme eco-pessimist" because of his belief that runaway population growth and disappearing resources will trigger wars and widespread civil strife early in the 21st century. To the University of Toronto political scientist, the implication is all too clear: The Economist might just as well have called him Canada's answer to Charles Haze. "I can only assume," he says, "that the writer of that piece has never even bothered to read one of my papers."

Like it or not, Homer-Dixon is getting used to the sometimes harsh glare of public attention. At 39, the boyishly handsome native of Vancouver Island has suddenly emerged as one of Canada's most talked-about and controversial scholars. Last February, his ascendancy to the ranks of academic superstars was heralded by a widely discussed 12,000-word cover story in *The Atlantic Monthly*, "The Coming Anarchy." The author, journalist Robert Kaplan, drew heavily on Homer-Dixon's work to argue that the primary threats to Western security in the coming decades will be surging populations, environmental degradation, mass migration and lawlessness in the Third World. Since then, the lucky young professor—led, in his friends and associates—has been besieged by calls from journalists



TOP: TAD HOMER-DIXON  
ABOVE: REFUGEES IN DRC  
PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN STICKLER FOR THE  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO DEPARTMENT OF  
PREDICTION OF CROWDING  
THIRD WORLD CRISES

and conference organizers throughout North America, as well as from publishers eager to sign him up as an author. More significant, he has been accepted invitation to brief U.S. Vice-President Al Gore, a long-standing champion of ecological causes who is one of Homer-Dixon's biggest fans.

Indeed, it is no surprise to say that the Clinton administration has embraced Homer-Dixon's work as the intellectual framework for a new post-Cold War foreign policy—one that for the first time recognizes the inherent and potentially growth-inhibiting nature of population. "Tad is one of a fairly small circle of people who are trying to understand and respond to a whole set of global trends, rather than simply focusing on problems in particular countries or regions," says David Harwood, whose boss, Tim Wirth, is Clinton's ambassador-at-large for global affairs. Adds Harwood: "The most impressive thing is that, no matter what you believe about Tad's work, he is going some intellectual contribution to a crucial debate. We think his research is immensely valuable and important."

That research is bound to attract even more attention when the University of Toronto professor speaks at the un-sponsored international Conference on Population and Development, to be held in Cairo from Sept. 5 to 13. In a speech starkly titled "Population and Conflict," he will

argue that high birthrates, scarce resources and shortages of technical expertise threaten to plunge large areas of the globe into a "downward and self-reinforcing spiral of crisis and decay." While acknowledging that technology and human inventiveness can help to alleviate those crises, Homer-Dixon says that many third-world countries face an "ingenuity gap" caused by a lack of trained scientists, shortages of research funds, social conflict and political mismanagement. All of those factors, he says, impede the ability of poor nations to take advantage of new technology. "A country with a serious gap will see higher social dissatisfaction and increased stress on marginal social groups," he says in the speech he prepared for Cairo. "If this process



**The effects of Chinese civil unrest, mass violence and state disintegration could spread far beyond its borders\***

conflict unbroken, the country may fragment as the state becomes enfeebled and peripheral regions come under the control of regional warlords and warlords.

But while policy makers in Washington and elsewhere

praise Homer-Dixon's work, critics say a variety of escape have been quick to challenge his bleak vision of the future. Those on the right label him a prophet of doom whose goal is to block economic growth and measure exploitation in poorer countries. Taking issue with Homer-Dixon's prediction of growing chaos in the Third World, the conservative vice holds that life for people in most developing nations is getting better, and will continue to improve as more countries enhance capitalism and democracy.

Some of Homer-Dixon's critics on the left also complain that he is alarmist, although not because they are optimistic about the prospects for economic growth in the developing world. Instead, they resent the implication that Western security is endangered by Third World turmoils and a potential influx of refugees. To them, Homer-Dixon belongs to a circle of "franchisee neo-Malthusians," named for the English economist Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1839), who called for severe limits on reproduction in the belief that population growth among the underclasses inevitably resulted in famine, disease and war. "The underlying assumption," Alexander Cockburn wrote in an essay on Kaplan and Homer-Dixon in *The Nation*, a leftist New York City-based weekly, "is that the Third World is incapable of reforming itself or improving, and efforts to assist it are useless."

Although Homer-Dixon rejects such criticism, he clearly is not surprised to find it has come attached from both left and right. Part of the problem, he says, is that his approach merges several disciplines environmental studies, demography, economics and the study of military conflict. "I'm an odd bird because I do not fit into any pigeon-hole," he says, surrounded by maps and charts in his University of Toronto office. "Some people label me a right-winger who wants to stop the poor from breeding, others call me a radical left-wing environmentalist. The bottom line is this: humans cannot survive unless we harvest the earth's resources and exploit our environment, and yet it will not survive for long unless we use our resources sparingly. My whole approach is pragmatic."

Pragmatism and a multidisciplinary approach are both qualities that Homer-Dixon inherited from his parents. An only child, he grew up in his parents' 17-acre rural property near Prospect Lake, 10 km north of Victoria. His mother, who died of multiple sclerosis when

**Police in Shanghai  
receive a crowd  
as a collapse of authority**

he was 12, was a gifted artist and writer with degrees in botany and medicine. His father, now retired, worked for the local government as chief forester for the Victoria watershed district, responsible for logging areas in a Monashee-area town.

Growing up in the early 1960s, Homer-Dixon was fascinated by technology and science fiction. His favorite television programs were *Space: 1999* and *The Outer Limits*. His favorite writers included Aldous Huxley and Enderle Allen Poe. Most of his spare time, however, was spent outdoors, hiking through the low-lying forests of south-western Vancouver Island or climbing for rock-silence with his parents. "I would disappear for hours and go exploring," says Homer-Dixon, who still tries to spend several weeks each summer raising in Ontario's Algonquin Park. "There was a creek running through my parent's property. I spent a lot of time dipping that creek and climbing the ledges. I was intrigued by how I could make the water do what I wanted it to do."

That idyllic upbringing was shattered in 1979 by the untimely death of his mother at age 49. "She was an extraordinary person—something of a Renaissance woman—and her death really threw me for a loop," Homer-Dixon says. "I left strongly about abiding by the values she had laid down. I guess partly because she died at the height of her creativity. I was young and did not know what I wanted to do with my life. But I knew I wanted to become a rounded person. I consciously set out to get a lot of different experiences under my belt."

That quest for knowledge and experience began in earnest after Homer-Dixon finished high school in 1979. Instead of going straight to university, he spent two years hopping from job to job surveying for logging companies in the B.C. interior, building docks and shelves on Vancouver Island, laying pipelines in Alberta. One of his more memorable stints was in a lumber mill on a remote peninsula in a harsh and remote corner of northern British Columbia. "Environmentally, it was things that were appalling by today's standards—the way they took up the landscape and damaged water quality. Just working on the rig also gave me a lot of respect for the resource industry—the courage of the men who worked there and the risks they took. They spent well over a million dollars on that project and didn't get any gas."

Eventually, Homer-Dixon enrolled in political science at the University of Victoria, but after his second year he quit to spend six months backpacking around Europe. When he returned, he transferred to Carleton University in Ottawa, "because I was interested in

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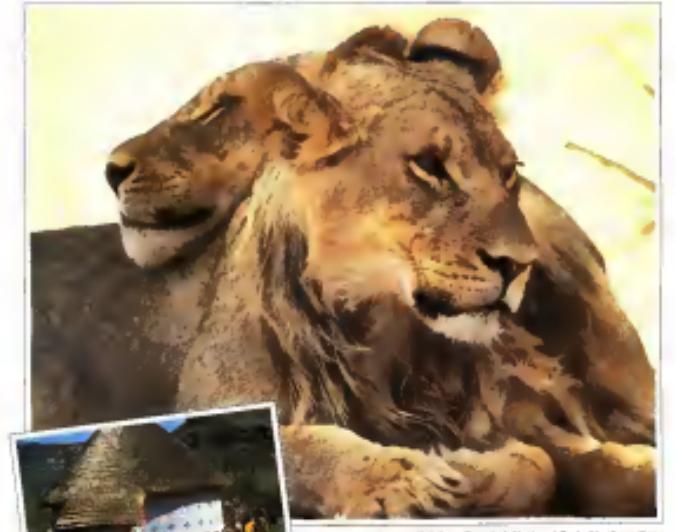
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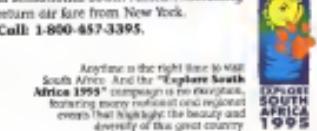
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government and wanted to be where the action was." It was there that he took a course on the causes of war and developed an abiding interest in the subject. "Growing up in a very tribal, peaceful environment, I guess I found it boring when people started shooting at each other. That course really started my thinking."

At Carleton, the young political science major also became involved in the Pan African movement, an expansion of scholars' interests about African race and the angular politics of identity. After graduating one of the group's founders, he founded an alternative Canadian Student Forum, and over the next three years as its national co-ordinator—in the process acquiring skills that would later prove valuable. "Forwards might be a lot about practical organisations—raising money, finding favors and getting things done," Horner-Dixon recalls. "I learned how to do things in a entrepreneurial way."

Pogosian, in fact, was the first step in what became a kind of decade-long work-study program. In the fall of 1982, determined to experience the developing world firsthand, he embarked with a friend on a month-long trip through Africa and Asia. "It was like a riding invasion course—we deliberately chose countries that were as difficult as possible from what we had known before." By the time he returned to Canada he had been accepted as a graduate student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), a place Horner-Dixon likens to "an army boot camp—they strip you down and then gradually rebuild you."

Six years later, having completed his doctorate and anxious to return to Canada, he heard through the grapevine that the University of Toronto had a small Peace and Conflict Studies program that was essentially dormant, with no one in charge. Armed with a \$25,000 grant from Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, he cut a deal with the university in exchange for an office and a phone he offered to run the program full-time.

Success was not long in coming. Drawing on the teaching abilities he acquired while running the Pugwash organization, he was soon raised \$300,000 for the program from private donors. He used the money to hire six new professors and to arrange a series of international workshops in collaboration with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. That resulted in a groundbreaking article published in the fall of 1983 in the journal *International Security*. Titled "On the Threshold: Bitterly Contested Choices in Causes of Acute Conflict," it hypothesized that increasing populations and the depletion of resources would impinge increasing stresses on poor countries, triggering clashes between ethnic groups, civil strife and insurrections, "each with potentially serious repercussions for the security interests of the developed world."

With this paper, Horner-Dixon's reputation took off. "I guess you could say he had the right idea at the right time," says Jack Goldstone, a sociologist at the University of California in Davis, Calif. Added Goldstone, as expert on the historical impact of population growth: "His work appeared at a time when people were desperately trying to make sense of all the crises breaking out in places like Somalia and Iran. And Ted is remarkably good at putting together a range of ideas and presenting them in a way that is accessible to people in the international-security field."

One recent illustration is the research Horner-Dixon and others have done on China. After Goldstone published a book on his histor-

ical findings in 1990, the University of Toronto professor invited him to apply his thinking to modern-day China, based on the latest projections of population growth in that country. To complete the analysis, he called on Victor Seidl, an expert on Chinese environmental problems at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg.

That finding, summarized in Horner-Dixon's latest paper, "Across the Threshold," published this summer in *Journal of Chinese Sociology*, already has become the conventional wisdom that China's current 12 percent annual economic growth rate is jeopardizing the country's well-being and the ranks of the developed world. In reality, he says, the economic inequality is confined to coastal regions. The increasing disparity between regions, combined with a still-growing population and shortages of water and cropland, appear capable of sparking long-term extraction and warfare uprisings—events the collapse of coastal authorities. Write Horner-Dixon. "The effects of Chinese civil unrest, mass violence and state dissolution could spread far beyond its borders."

To some, that scenario might sound overly pessimistic. But Horner-Dixon's conclusions are having an impact. Last spring, after reading the *Atlantic Monthly* article, Vice-President Gore invited the political scientist to dine with him and several senior advisers of his official residence. The session went so well that Gore summoned Horner-Dixon

**'Growing up in a very  
tranquil, peaceful  
environment, I  
guess I found it  
bizarre when people  
started shooting  
at each other'**



Horner-Dixon in  
Gauteng's Mpumalanga  
Park. "I feel like a kind  
of war hero."

back for a breakfast in early August, this time with Goldstone and Staff. Other guests included the director James Wadeley, Brian Abrahm, head of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and Jack Gibbons, Clinton's science adviser. Says Goldstone: "What was amazing was to have the hand of the CIA and AID in the same room, being held by the president's science adviser."

Horner-Dixon, too, is extremely pleased that his ideas are being discussed at the highest levels of power in Washington. Still, he admits to pangs of self-doubt. "It's flattering to be well known, but I feel like a fraud with one foot." Although he is working on another paper and trying with the idea of writing a piece of his own for *The Atlantic*, he also worries that the publicity he is getting will cut out the time available for scholarly work. "I just turned down a great offer to do a book for a big American publisher—they wanted something that would get a lot of attention. I was flattered, but I said 'no' to it. I do a book, I want it to be rock solid, something that will bring me the academic recognition." After all, he may be one of Canada's best-known academics, but he still has a quite tenure.

## A United Nations plan to limit global population growth triggers an acrid war of words

BY PAUL KAHILA

**L**ooking down on Kenya's craggy-edged Mathews Valley, eight kilometers from downtown Nairobi, a visitor sees a dense mishmash of mud-brick shacks made from scrawny wood, garbage bags and cardboard stretching out as far as the eye can see. Locals call the vast shantytown "the valley," a bitter lesson of humanity that is a disgrace almost to any standard of individual dignity. Home to perhaps 360,000 Africans—no one knows for sure—"the valley" has no electricity, no running water and no sanitation system. Instead of roads, the shacks are arranged along a deranged maze of macadamized lava-rocks—strewn with garbage and the leeches of children too afraid to use the toilets and barely consciousness yet living. During the sunsets every second, the leeches turn into swarms of mud and sewage.

An incredible as it may sound, thousands of people elect to move to the Kenya capital's largest slum each year because it is better than where they were living before. The migrants are, mostly members of the Luo tribe. There is no food, or roses, for them in their homeland to the province of Nyasaland, a four-hour drive west of Nairobi. The farmers there cannot keep up with the country's average birthrate of 6.3 children per woman—35% higher than in Canada. Almost all of the scrub land is under cultivation, and as scavengers clear more bushland in search of wood for fuel, once-fertile soil is being ravaged by erosion and cheap but toxic pesticides, many of which are banned in developed countries. Every day, more tortured refugees of hunger and ecological degradation arrive in Nairobi's Mathews Valley, as ethnic boundaries eating up several square kilometers of bushland each year like a spreading cancer.

What is happening in "the valley," researchers say, is only a microcosm of what will happen across Latin America, Africa and Asia with increasing frequency in the coming decades because of surging populations and shrinking resources. Feasting that future, delegations from 180 nations, including Canadian Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi, U.S. Vice-President Al Gore and Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, will assemble in Cairo next week for an UN-sponsored global summit on population—to be staged only a few kilometers from the Egyptian capital's own swollen shantytowns. At the centre of the conference's agenda is a 20-year, \$11-billion program to provide women in developing countries with better access to contraception, health care and schooling. But already the plan has unleashed an acid war of words—slitting the Vatican against the United Nations and Islamic fundamentalists against the secular West.

In the past few weeks, Pope John Paul II and senior Catholic officials around the world have orchestrated an all-out assault on the conference, telling the United Nations of competing to sustain abortion as a means of family planning in the developing world. "We protest," the Pope declared during a recent general audience in St. Peter's Square. "We cannot look towards the future with a project of systematic death of the unborn." Carrying the fight a step further, a group of Muslim lawyers last week filed suit against the Egyptian government for agreeing to host the conference, saying the forum violates Islamic morals. Elsewhere, critics on both the left and the right have attacked the conference as either too little, too late, or a costly exercise in social engineering that is bound to fail.

Either way, the question of how many people the Earth can support is at the top of the international agenda. In the last 25 years, even if the current trend of declining fertility rates continues, the United Na-

tions forecasts that the Earth's population of 5.7 billion will balloon to nearly twice that by the year 2025. The upshot, say many experts, is that shantytowns like Nairobi's Mathews Valley and refugee-producing conflicts like the recent slaughter in Rwanda will proliferate—creating a 21st century of growing poverty, warfare and disease in which masses of Third World migrants will be serially forced to move from the rural to the industrialized West. If these forecasts prove accurate, Canadian and other citizens of the developed world may face a stark choice: whether to open their borders to millions of new refugees, or to allow the charabut and burn their backs on the sprawling misery. The goal of the Cairo conference is to lower the average global birthrate of 3.3 children per woman to about two, in which case the world's population would peak at about 7.5 billion by the year 2050.

During most of recorded history, the world's population grew by less than one per cent a year, in part because of shorter lives and high infant mortality rates. But with the advent of modern medicine, agriculture and food distribution, average life expectancies worldwide have jumped to 68 years now, from 45 in 1950. As a result, the world's population—which stood at about one

billion in 2000—is now increasing by that number every 20 years.

While the steep rise in the world's population in the last half of the 20th century has brought calls for arms, or even negotiate population growth, most conservative economists insist that there is no crisis over the Earth's ability to support the expected increase. Neoliberal "economists," they argue that the international market will always find a substitute product or a new technology in circumvent shortages of particular resources. As late as 1976, some environmentalists predicted that the metal would be in short supply in the 1990s. Instead, there is a glut of copper and prices have plummeted because fibre-optic cable and plastic piping have replaced copper in many uses.

As for crowded slums and food shortages in the developing world, the economists point out that countries tend to have lower children as their incomes rise. Economist Michael Walker of the Fraser Institute, a conservative Vancouver think-tank, says that the key is to increase the productivity of farmers like those in Kenya's Nyasaland province. That can be accomplished, he says, by protecting property rights so that farmers can take out loans and invest in tools and crops. Walker adds that the UN should concentrate on restructuring develop-



Pope John Paul II: the Vatican has launched an all-out assault



ing countries along free market lines rather than spending money on family planning and health services. "They're having a conference on how you're going to manipulate billions of people into moving 'further fishes,'" Wilder says mockingly. "State intervention does not work."

But while the general opinion of the conference is contrasting, it conflicts with the much more conservative emerging among most demographers, social scientists and policy analysts involved in population and development. Their view is that a high proportion of the global problems are due to us with current and even less than optimal growth rates dramatically reduced. That was the conclusion of a symposium study by researchers at Cornell University's department of ecology and systematics. Interestingly, these report, released at the conference, does not point to the depletion of renewable resources like oil as the problem. Rather, they say, the Earth's landscape can only produce enough renewable resources—land, fresh water and fish—to sustain two billion people at a standard of living equal to that in France.

Another study by Cornell's David Pimentel, a professor of insect ecology and agricultural sciences and Nobel-winning physicist Henry W. Kendall draw on statistics from the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). Pimentel and Kendall state that even if the United Nations' population target of 7.8 billion were met, world food production would triple in the next 55 years for everyone allocated to have an adequate diet. That prospect is bad, however, they add, because less than half of the Earth's land is suitable for agriculture, and almost all of that is already exploited. Moreover, many of the benefits of the Green Revolution, which boosted crop yields with irrigation, fertilizers and pesticides, have already been realized—along with such downside side-effects as nutrient depletion, pollution and water shortages.

Two long-term environmental problems, largely created by the industrialized countries, could also lower crop yields: increased ultraviolet radiation due to the thinning ozone layer and reduced precipitation because of global warming. Said Pimentel: "While the number of mouths to feed has increased, grain production has actually been decreasing since 1987."

According to yet another study, released on Aug. 23 by the Washington-based Worldwatch Institute, the social costs involved in population control are unlikely to stave off disaster. While Western countries helped to end large-scale famines in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1960s and 1970s through development programs, there is no new technology available that will similarly reduce world-wide famines. At the same time, many analysts at the FAO report that of 17 of the world's major sugar fisheries are being fished at or beyond capacity. Nine of them are in decline or have been about that—such as the case of Canada's cod and salmon.

Perhaps the most provocative research on the consequences of the human race to come is that reproductive and population is being done by Thomas Homer-Dixon, head of the University of Toronto's Peace and Conflict Studies program (page 18). Homer-Dixon traces a 250-century in which overpopulation, unequal distribution of wealth and environmental degradation combine to produce total societal chaos, migration and the breakup of countries around the globe—with a speed, complexity



**Shantytown near Manila, already more than one billion people go hungry**

and magnitude unprecedented in history." That bleak scenario may not be restricted in a world where more than one billion people already go hungry and about two billion lack basic like running water or electricity. In a speech in Washington in July, senior Clinton adviser Tim Wirth, then-Homeric Director's findings, said the report showed in both Mexico and Russia were all examples of "scarcity conflicts." David Wirth: "These conflicts could intensify and widen as ever-growing populations compete for an over-welching supply of land, food and water."

For that reason, says Wirth, population stabilization is at the top of Clinton's foreign agenda. One irony is that the West is now working to lower population growth rates in the Third World that largely resulted from the interaction of Western academic and technology. In pursuit of reduced birthrates, an overriding objective of the UN's Cairo conference will be to improve the status of women in developing countries. Among the goals is universal access to family planning. In Kenya, for example, the average woman has less than two years of secondary and female literacy stands at 40 per cent. Statistically, as women attain higher levels of education, they fare better in the job market, marry later and have fewer children. In Canada, the average woman had about four children in the late 1960s compared with fewer than two today.

The United Nations also wants to distribute contraceptive methods and track ways that spacing out pregnancies lowers health risks. Yet in many African cultures, there are powerful obstacles to family planning. In rural areas, men often work large families as a testament to virility, or as insurance that they will be cared for in old age. Women are usually obliged. Tolosa Deneuve, 33, an East African researcher who spent several years as an Ethiopian shantytown, says that sex is often one of the few forms of recreation available to poor people. "There's not much else to do after dark when there's no electricity and the wood fires have gone."

The United Nations says that programs such as those in northwestern Cameroon can help to moderate male attitudes. There, the country's health ministry selected 60 "male opinion leaders," including tribal

headmen, and convinced them to distribute condoms and spermicides. According to a United Nations report, "More than half of those who were not using a modern family planning method at the outset had begun to do so by the end of the project."

In the Vatican, these efforts are not fully recognized but its most senior Catholic document approves of natural methods of birth control—abstinence during ovulation—but bars the use of any artificial form of contraception as well as abortion. Although it does not actively promote abortion as a form of family planning, the Cairo document calls on governments to "evaluate and review laws and patterns on abortion so that they take into account the current social or women's health needs, rather than relying on criminal codes or arbitrary laws." Church officials interpret the document as legalizing abortion. And in 1994, the head of the Vatican's Council for Family, Cardinal Léger, reaffirmed that the Cairo conference would lead to "the most disastrous measure in history" if it did not call for an outright ban on abortion.

François Kipnis, a papal critic and director of the Washington-based Catholics for a Free Choice, states: "The Vatican is saying that the Cairo document is an example of the modern plague of individualism and consumerism, and that it wants to prevent this simpler, more communal people of the south from being infected by these diseases." He adds: "The opposition to this conference is absolutely unacceptable in the face of massive poverty and limited resources. The Pope's statement would lead to massive suffering throughout the world."

Population policies, meanwhile, have made strange bedfellows. Some black activists in the United States and Islamic fundamentalists in Arab countries, have joined the attack against the Cairo conference, calling it, among other things, an attempt to westernize the developing world. "These family-planning policies are designed to hold off the decreasing proportion of white people in the world at the expense of black people," declares Cornel West, a professor of history and edu-



**Family planning course in the Philippines. Millions of refugees (left) are pressing the states of women**

cation at Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago and head of the National Black United Front. "This is a certain page of cultural genocide by the West." That view is echoed by a group of African Catholic bishops who gathered to hold a letter in Zimbabwe, last month insisting that it was wrong for rich nations to deprive poor families of the right to have children. "On the contrary, the duty of the rich is to create an ecologically secure climate and future for the disadvantaged."

Cornell's Pimentel, on the other hand, says the Cairo blueprint does not go far enough, and other researchers say that the goal should be to reduce the world's population, not just slow its growth. If each couple had an average of 1.5 children, he says, the Earth would have two billion people by the year 2000. "We need more people given the planet's resources. To meet that target, Western cultures encourage married women such as those practiced in China, where couples are designed—or ordered—if they have more than one or in some countries, two, children. Still, Pimentel says, "Countries in places like Africa, Asia and elsewhere, do we want to live with one million people in a sound society, or are we going to let nature take care of one million."

Humanity has relied on slowing population before. In the 16th century, however, war and disease wiped out many as 45 million people due to a third of Europe's population at the end of 300 years of relative growth. In the modern world, epidemics have sometimes allowed people to dodge natural catastrophes, as when more than a million Irish emigrated to North America during the 1840s potato famines. In the 21st century, the choice may be to ignore the West's down-to-the-last-millions of new refugees from places like Mexico's Michoacán Valley—or spend billions of dollars to avert what experts say could be a global crisis of unprecedented magnitude.



**Population policies are causing suffering and death**

With CHRISTOPHER HARRIS in Mexico, JOHN EDLICH in Brazil and ARJAN KRISTENSEN in Thailand



**Zedillo with family at post-election rally, angry voters protest lack of ballots in Mexico City (below). *Courtesy***

## Mexico's PRI claims its 12th consecutive victory

# THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE

**R**ecession, rebellion, assassinations, stark poverty. In most countries, such a record would hardly bode well for shadow electoral success. So perhaps the only way to explain the victory of the leftist Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) is Mexico's presidential and congressional elections last week is as a result of a fractured style of the truly open-faced leadership that crowd the downtown streets of Mexico City. Along with tortilla soup and tacos come bowls of micoses or not that the Mexican clearly eat more soups or dry soup. In a country where dry soup and institutional revolutions may be anything is possible, even a soup for change that results for no outcome.

To the surprise of almost no one except perhaps the campaign team, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, a former budget director and education minister in the outgoing government and a techocrat in the crowd, will become Mexico's next president on Dec. 1, replacing Carlos Salinas de Gortari. It will be the 12th consecutive one-term victory since 1929 for the PRI—which has held power longer than any other existing party in the modern era. Fewer things made the victory in the Aug. 23 elections even sweeter than extending the streak. First, of course, was the magnitude of the win. With 52 per cent of the ballots counted late last week, Zedillo had just a shade under 49

per cent of the vote, easily outlasting Diego Fernández de Cossío of the center-right National Action Party (PAN), with 38 per cent, and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano of the leftist Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) with 16 per cent.

The PRI is also the result of a powerful majority in the 500-seat Chamber of Deputies and the 128-seat Senate. But best of all for the party was that it had played, and won under new election rules that made the campaign the most competitive ever. In his victory speech, Zedillo was quoted: "The most important victory was for democracy in Mexico."

While questions remained about the election's fairness, most observers agreed that the result reflected the Mexican public's choice. Brian Steverns, a Canadian studies professor at the Mexico City, said that people were going about an election day proudly showing off in their tattered old status on their thumbs, marked at polling stations as a sign of having voted. "People really felt that their vote was going to count this time," Steverns said. "There was a real sense of civic pride." Former Conservative prime minister Joe Clark was one of 51 allied Canadian observers—styled "senties" in a word offending Mexican sensibilities of unrigged sovereignty—who watched the vote. "I think they were reasonably fair elections," Clark said. "In

fact, from what I saw, quite fair elections." Christine Stewart, the justice minister for Latin America and Africa, met her last week with representatives of the observer teams and later told *Newsweek* that the Mexican government was satisfied that Zedillo had won legitimately. "It was not an election with no glitches, but it is a distinct improvement over the last election," she said. "The will of the people was engaged."

But everyone now is that way. Cárdenas, the standard-bearer of the left and son of a former president, was jubilant, and had right up to election day—and after. "A colonial faced Cárdenas" has been coined. "The streets and faced Cárdenas" tell a rally the day after the vote in Mexico City's historic central plaza, the Zócalo (of historic memory believe that Cárdenas was chosen not of the great desire in 1988 for overwhelming electoral fraud). And as he called for nationwide protests, he told supporters that the country would never again accept six years of illegitimate government. Delysia Cardenas, "The struggle, my comrades, is simply beginning."

In the poor northern state of Chihuahua near the Guatemalan border, the struggle appeared to be well under way—even

though Zapata rebels who led an armed peasant uprising in January, maintained a base but suffering peace. Chávez was also among Mexico's 30 states in holding concurrent elections for governor. And while the candidate Eduardo Bolaños Bolaños was well ahead in the official count, the PRD opposition was declared the winner. Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the PRD's Andresito, was carrying on with his role as the rebel in San Cristóbal de las Casas, a town of coffee and grace at the base of Zapotec mountains. "The people won't let it be," Polanco, not given his last name, told the city hall in San Cristóbal, fearing an attempted takeover as the winner. As Mexico's historic central plaza, the Zócalo (of historic memory believe that Cárdenas was chosen not of the great desire in 1988 for overwhelming electoral fraud). And as he called for nationwide protests, he told supporters that the country would never again accept six years of illegitimate government. Delysia Cardenas, "The struggle, my comrades, is simply beginning."

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Arendito had spent the final weeks of the campaign in a hospital bed, recovering from serious internal injuries suffered in a motorcycle accident that supporters claimed instantly blamed on the PRD. The dirty tricks continued right through election day, however, as persons said, though such严格执行 as a garnet of fire-gouache and new signs in exchange for PRD votes. "People are very angry," Manguera said. "They are saying, 'In our community we all voted for the PRD, but on television, they are saying the PRD has won.'"

The PRD has grown accustomed to winning in Chihuahua, and was doing big. In 1988 the state gave an improbably generous 69 per cent of its votes to Salinas, and in the district of Comodin, near the Guadalajara border, 30 per cent of the vote was won there. This, as in other parts of the country, the most frequent criticisms last week were that the PRD had for campaign its rivals beatified from biased news media, and attempted to a balance of government functions of power. In Chihuahua this year, the government spent about \$2.2 billion on road construction, farm aid and other programs for rural areas in previous years.

One Chihuahua election observer in Chihuahua last week reckoned that view. Mary Hidalgo, a member of the Cuauhtémoc Native Women's Association, witnessed the voting in the town of Santiago, north of San Cristóbal, and reported that a man who identified himself only as a "concerned citizen" walked into the polling station about two hours before the 5 p.m. closing time and began to

count the ballots. As for the staff, they had been hired off the street the night before and allowed the man to do as he wanted, knowing that polls results highly suspect. Hidalgo said that when she later complained about it to a gubernatorial election administrator, a local representative told her that he was powerless to do anything.

That was the opinion of DeGrazia, Ed Bradford, former leader of the New Democratic Party and now president of the non-institutional Mexican-based Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development, and that the voter was seriously denied. "The general view was that it was dysfunctional, but it worked," he said. Two of the most serious problems in Chihuahua and across the country were delays in opening the polls and a shortage of special ballots for people voting away from home. Ironically, all parties had agreed to restrict the number of such ballots because of opposition fears that the PRD would use them to steal ballot boxes.

While Cardenas and Arendito refused to accept the election result, crucial and prompt impact for its legitimacy came from Fernández of PRD, which conceded the race as the official opposition with a strong showing not only in the presidential race, but in the congressional races. A charismatic, egocentric lawyer, Fernández had performed impressively in what was Mexico's first televised debate, in May. But by election day, memories of that event had faded, and the PRD had succeeded in translating its well-known political expertise. With official results confirming his own party's estimate, Fernández advised his followers to accept the result.

Fernández also issued a plan for calm and social peace, which was just what many Mexicans wanted to hear after last January's Zapata revolt and the March assassination of Luis Donaldo Colosio, Zedillo's predecessor as PRD candidate. "People are nervous right now," said Margarita Salas, a Mexico City lawmaker shouting a Cardenista rally. "Revolution right now would be madness."

That among, a fear of renewed violence in a country that still recalls the bloody horrors of its 1910-1920 revolution, was a crucial element in the race and went to the advantage of the PRD, which subsequently capitalized on it. In fact, Mexican voters change their political affiliation Zedillo will be and he would give it to them in measured doses, with more emphasis on social spending and job creation, rather democratic reforms and a crackdown against police corruption—but with an independent opposition that would turn back the first-round electoral reforms spearheaded by Salinas. "The Mexican electorate wants to live and steady change," said Mexico City political scientist Fernando Flores. "That's what they're going to get."

**MARIN CARBALLO** with **SCOTT MORRISON** in Mexico City and **ROGGIN DAWSON** in San Cristóbal



# World NOTES



Well-wishers stand off Cuban rafters near Bimini: a Cold War refugee crisis

## Turning the tide

**B**ad weather accomplished what U.S. President Bill Clinton had failed to do: steal the title of Cuban refugees sailing through the Straits of Florida. About 12,800 Cuban emigrants on the 90-mile voyage across shark-infested waters last week before high winds, heavy rains and 10-foot swells slowed the exodus to a trickle. Still, by then, nearly 17,000 refugee-seekers had undertaken the dangerous crossing in August, the highest total since the 1980 Miami world-fair earned more than 100,000 Cubans to U.S. shores.

Because of a recent U.S. policy shift, the Cubans are aware that they are no longer eligible for automatic political asylum. But that has not deterred them from trying to leave their homeland. Those who reach Florida are taken immediately to a federal detention center outside Miami, while those intercepted at sea by U.S. Coast Guard ships are sent to the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. There, American military personnel are escorting barge and other facilities for as many as 45,000 Cubans—a clear sign that U.S. officials expect the exodus to resume once the weather clears.

In Havana, President Fidel Castro appeared on state television to reject charges by Washington that Cuban communism was dis-

aster of the refugee crisis. Castro blamed a crippling U.S. economic embargo, and he accused U.S. officials of encouraging illegal exiles from Cuba by annually granting only a fraction of the 20,000 immigrant visas that Washington has promised to issue under a 1986 bilateral accord. Castro also called for negotiations with the United States to iron out long-standing disagreements. But the Clinton administration balked at the suggestion of talks with a Cold War enemy—or last ensuring that the refugee crisis will continue.

## Peace signs

After a quarter century of sectarian strife, Northern Ireland is on the verge of peace. That is the highest priority by six American political, labor and business leaders who met in Belfast with members of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The leaders, a U.S. delegation chosen for a landmark ceasefire by IRA guerrillas who have been waging a 20-year struggle against British rule. Although Sen. Pat Leahy, D-Vt., refused to commit his party to a ceasefire or whether the IRA would renounce violence, he declared that "there is a historic opportunity opening up that needs to be seized."

## NUCLEAR SMUGGLING

Russian authorities caught two men stealing nine kilograms of uranium-238 at a nuclear weapons complex in central Russia. And Estonian police seized three kilograms of smuggled uranium. In recent months, German security agents have found four shipments of plutonium and enriched uranium, which they say came from the former Soviet Union or Russia. Russia and Germany have agreed to cooperate to combat nuclear smuggling.

## A RISING TOLL

Exceptionally hot passersby took up duties in southwestern Rwanda, where displaced French troops had established a permanent zone for ethnic Hutus who fear retribution for their massacre of at least 500,000 Tutsis since April. Charles Pweze, deputy co-ordinator of the UN Rwanda Emergency Office, said that the final death toll in the central African state could be as high as 1.5 million.

## PALESTINIAN RULE

Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization initialed an agreement giving autonomy to Palestinians in education, health, taxation, social welfare and tourism throughout the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Under a 1993 peace accord, Israel agreed to "early empowerment" in the West Bank once Palestinians self-government had begun in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank enclave of Jericho.

## PILOTS CHARGED

South Korean police laid charges of negligence against Canadian pilot Barry Woodward Woods of Vancouver and co-pilot Chung Chang-ju in the Aug. 14 crash of a passenger plane on the island of Cheju. If convicted, Woods and Chung, who blamed each other for the accident, could face up to three years in prison.

## A VICTORY FOR CLINTON

The U.S. Senate passed a sweeping \$40-billion crime bill, giving President Bill Clinton one of his biggest legislative victories. The bill bars certain semiautomatic weapons and funds more police, prison and crime-prevention programs.

## PEASKEEPERS KILLED

Heavily armed Senoussi militiamen ambushed a UN-protected convoy about 110 kilometers west of Mogadishu, killing seven soldiers, paralyzing one and wounding nine. More than 120 personnel have been killed since U.S.-led forces first entered the Somalian capital to end famine and chaos in December, 1992.

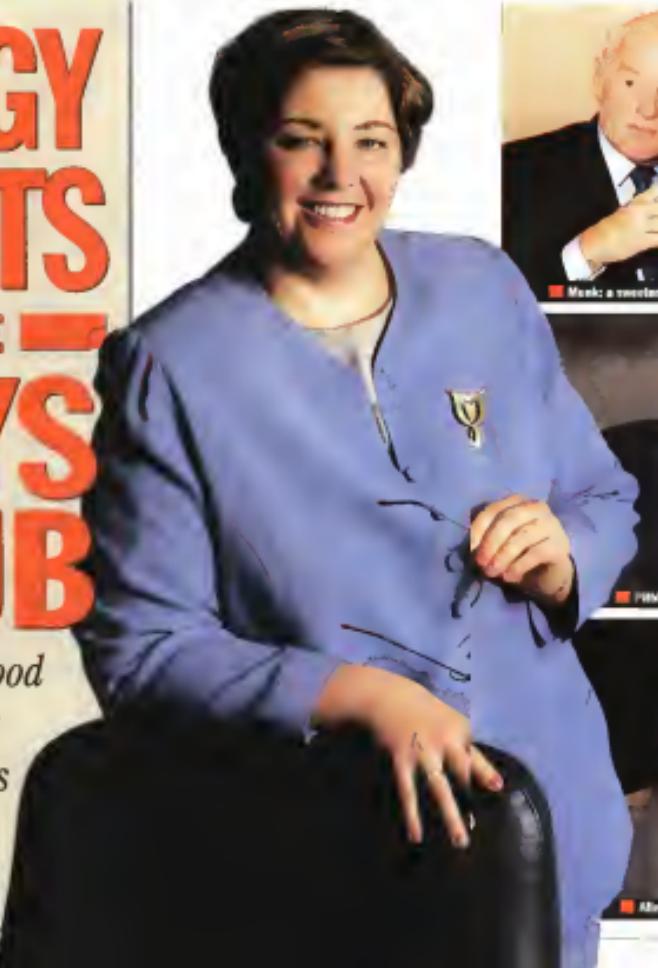
TO  
BOLDLY GO  
WHERE  
WE'VE GONE  
BEFORE.

CBC PRIME TIME NEWS MOVES TO 10PM, SEPTEMBER 6

(10:30 PM in Newfoundland)

# PEGGY MEETS THE BOYS CLUB

*Peggy Witte stood  
the old mining  
fraternity on its  
ear with her  
play for Lac*



BY BRENDA BALSAM

eggy Wills can sell. Ross Burns, vice-president of exploration at her company Royal Oak Minerals Inc. and a longtime friend, says that her powers of persuasion are exceptional. "I'd just hate to meet her on a used-car lot," says the geologist. "God knows what I'd end up buying." As a child, she and her brother, Craig Keast, opened a roadside stand on their parents' farm outside Fallon, Nev. She stayed in the shack at the stand, greeting customers and collecting cash while Craig, now a 38-year-old cardiovascular surgeon and Harvard University professor, lagged along in the fields. Soon, the Keasts began putting signs along the highway, advertising on the radio and selling to the local grocery store. "By the time Pruggy was done," recalls Craig, "she was producing." She also financed her master's degree at the Mackay School of Mining in Reno, Nev., with a novel job. "I sold fur coats," she says, "in the middle of the winter, in the middle of the desert." Gamblers who had won at the hotel casinos would take their lucky friends across the street to the slightly seedy furrier store where she worked. "The thing was to get them to pay the coat on lay account before they went back to the tables." Even if their luck deserted them, Wills got the down payment.

Although the stakes are much higher, White, 40, used a similar strategy this summer when she launched a \$8-billion takeover of the much larger Lae Minerals Ltd. As chairman and chief executive officer of Vancouver-based Royal Oak, White assessed the possible outcome and decided that, regardless of who eventually took over Lae, her company would benefit by making a bid that included both cash and shares. If that bid was successful, White would have pulled off the largest reverse takeover ever in the Canadian mining industry. Another company topped her offer and took the prize, so she could still limit her loss by selling the \$8 million Lae shares that Royal Oak accumulated before launching its bid and driving up Lae's share price (page 30). In the end, White appears to have lost Lae and she says that she may have incurred costs slightly above the \$11-million profit in Lae's share price. More significant, however, she and her management team gained exceptional experience and learned for a company of Royal Oak's modest size. "It's dispensed," said White as she returned on a flight back to Vancouver from Toronto last Wednesday, just three hours after American Barrick Resources Corp. of Toronto announced that it had struck a friendly deal with Lae's management and increased its bid. "But I know we didn't lose."

Although With's return to her home land was not imminent, she was still the talk of the town in Toronto, the centre of power for the Old Boys club in the industry (page 3). Throughout the takeover campaign, executives from *c*, which was led by interim chairman James Pitblado, dismissed Royal Oak as an overly ambitious outfit in defiance of general *Stil*. At the hasty assembly, confidence where *Lic* and *Bierck* presented the case of their complex 2.2-million-litre, *Bierck's* urban



# Where the boys are

Many answers to many questions lie between the covers of an enormous blue-bound book. The Directory of Directors, through these pages, at its possible to trace intricate threads of the relationships that are woven through Canada's corporate fabric. The Directory's dry listing of vital statistics tells a revealing tale of entrenched family connections, school ties, corporate and charitable directorships, club memberships and houses addresses. The clearest are those two people who serve together on the board of the World Wildlife Fund or the Royal Ontario Museum and at some point be found at the corporate level. Often, they are neighbors—in the city and in cottage country—as well as fellow members of the same club. A sum of the cross-connections of some of the big players in the East—American/American Barrick salutes age provenance agents that wonderland has its passengers—and petrelas has its members.



**James Bruce Pitblado:** running in the family

**JAMES BRUCE PITBLADO**  
Title: Chairman, Linc Minerals Ltd.

Address: 4 Clapp Dr., Toronto

Schools: University of Manitoba,

Wharton School of Finance,

University of Pennsylvania

**Clubs:** Toronto Club,

Mount Royal Club

**Bequests:** Linc Minerals,

National Ballet

**Significant details:** Pitblado, 62, is the son of an established

Winnipeg family. In the pick of early, J. Pitblado & Sons was a respected firm on the Montreal Exchange. Pitblado was with Illinois & Partners from 1959 to 1973,

when it was acquired by Domtar Securities (1973). Pitblado made the move to DS and served as chairman from 1981 to 1982. He cause out of retirement to join the Lac board in January 1984 and to

**Shawn & Lee Taylor**

**PETER ACKERMAN ALLEN**  
Title: Former chairman and CEO of Lac  
Address: 18 Threshwood Rd., Toronto (one of Clapp Dr.)

**Schools:** Upper Canada College, Trinity College School, Toronto

**THE BARRICK BOARD:**  
members  
Former prime minister Brian Mulroney  
Former U.S. ambassador to Canada Edward Roy Sonnie Trevor Dykes

named officer, presented another new. "One guy actually said, 'What does a woman know about mining?'" And Witte herself passed along a pretentiously recent portfolio summary to a male colleague. "I thought maybe a little bit of levity," she laughs. "She didn't get it."

Now, however, the success of Barrick's \$1.5 billion acquisition of Homestake's mining assets has given her credibility as a woman in a male-dominated business. Witte has had to overcome certain hurdles as well. In the late 1980s the controversial collapse of his Clapp Dr. company, Sonnie Trevor Dykes, may have given Witte an added path to prove his mettle to the same set of skeptics.

At first glance, the down-to-earth style of Witte and the refined manner of his rival for Lac, Peter Mark, might not be ripe for a clash. But despite his earnest world, Mark like Witte remains outside the close-knit inner-circle of Canada's business establishment. Like Witte he emigrated to Canada as a young child. And although he grew up as a slouch and a cottage compoisit in the backwoods of

Gravenhurst Bay, Musk has risen from an well, slightly formal European manner, as well as some European restaurants. While he may participate in Toronto's social and charity scene, he is hardly a foray on the country club and cocktail circuit. And if Peter Witte has had to prove her credibility as a woman in a male-dominated business, Musk has had to overcome certain hurdles as well. In the late 1980s the controversial collapse of his Clapp Dr. company, Sonnie Trevor Dykes, may have given Witte an added path to prove his mettle to the same set of skeptics.

Witte arrived in Canada in 1979 to work for the Toronto-based Ontario Research Foundation. She adapted to Canadian life as quickly as she discovered that she was not cut out to be a permanent employee. In 1981, with a \$30,000 contract from Lac and financing from the Bank of Montreal, she started her own

company, Wittek Developments Inc. By 1986, the company had grown to 50 employees and Witte had a seat at the board of her clients, including companies who used various technical

tests carried out. "We're spending money like water," he said. At that time, a new tax law forced Witte to a cash of costs into the mining industry and, although Witte's business was booming, she decided that she would build a mining company.

Witte profits thinking: "This is me, and I was poor."

That strong forward thrust may have

served her well professionally, but she is confused about the toll that her career has taken on her personal life. In 1985 after 17 years together, she and her husband separated. She says that they grew apart and that her husband had trouble handling her success. She

**PETER MUNK**  
Title: Founding chairman and CEO, American Barrick Resources Corp. and Hornbeam Corp., Chairman, Clark Oil & Refining  
Address: 10 Highland Ave., Toronto  
Schools: University of Toronto  
Bequests: The Toronto Hospital Board, World Gold Council  
**Significant details:** Born in Poland, Hungary, in 1927. Arrived in Canada in 1938

## THE CLAPP CONNECTION

**#1: Tim Price:** chairman of First International Bancorp Inc., chairman of the Montreal family that founded Molson-Frize Ltd.

**#2: Henry (Hal) Barrick:** chairman of Barrick Resources Inc., chairman of National Trust and Ed. Financial director, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, York Club, Alouette Club, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Mount Royal Club

**#3: William (Willie) Cattanach:** director and vice-chairman of Linc Ltd., director of 102 Gold Corp., which made a bid to take over Lac in July '89

**#4: Jim Hoag:** chairman and CEO of Special Cards Ltd.

**#5: Gerry Schwartz:** chairman of Osca Corp. and president of Coll. Corp., respectively. Liberal party shakers.

**#6: Robert Bassano:** former CEO of Canadian National. Member of the York and Mount Royal clubs.

**#7: Jim Page:** founding partner of investment firm Page & Co.

promised to help finance the project. On another occasion, a crucial financing arrangement collapsed at the last minute, when the representative of a New York City billion-dollar developer

acting as financer for the deal, crept down the backstairs of a lawyer's office rather than tell her that his firm was racing on to completion to key.

To survive in that environment, a lawyer has to be tough. And Witte has earned a reputation as one of the toughest. Geologist Ross Burns, who has worked with Witte since 1986, calls Witte one of the strongest people he has ever known. He says that although she really loves in the equations of her law practice, her management style is more assertive than feminine. Witte, who privately speaks of Burns with warmth, has



Trinity College, University of Toronto site



The Royal Canadian Yacht Club setting sail



to 25%. He is known for his exclusive—and eclectic—private dinner parties at the Toronto Club. It's remained from the board of Lac in Aug. 1987 in an undisclosed state of corporate governance.

## MARGARET (PEGGY) MITTE

Title: Chairman and CEO, Royal Oak Mann Inc.

Address: 140 Bloorwest Rd., Vancouver

Schools: University of Nevada, the Wharton School of Finance  
**Significant details:** Born in Fallon, Nev., in 1933. Arrived in Canada in 1959

## WILLIAM BOWLES HARRIS

Title: Chairman, 56 Clapp Dr., Toronto

**Address:** Barrick's Bank of Canada, Chairman, The Mercantile and General Resources Co. of Canada, World Wildlife Fund, Royal Conservatory, Young Canadians

**Significant details:** At 56, Allen rebounded a controlling interest in Little Long Lake Mines (later renamed Lac Minerals Ltd.) from his father Jack. After Jack was the founder of John C. C. Allen Ltd., a Toronto brokerage firm, and Peter was a partner in the firm from 1960 until 1974. In 1975, the



Witte discusses strategy with Royal Oak management team

Witte about going to one industry dinner at which she was given an award. In her acceptance speech, she thanked several of her senior executives, but forgot to mention her husband. "When I got back to the table, he'd left," she said, "and he didn't come home for two days."

That strong forward thrust may have served her well professionally, but she is confused about the toll that her career has taken on her personal life. In 1985 after 17 years together, she and her husband separated. She says that they grew apart and that her husband had trouble handling her success. She

no qualms about bailing out of him.

Barrie cites an incident from 1991 as a telling sign of her concern: Wite had just amalgamated an assortment of names into Royal Oak that winter, she faced a potentially disastrous decision. By liquidating the company's hedge position—in other words, selling an insurance position—the possibility that policyholders would fail to honor the policy at which the insurer would produce. "We studied the cash flow of all the company's debt. However, if good grace left, the company would be forced to shut down," she says. "A closing move, and it would end her career circle." Wite sold the hedge. "Operations went into shambles for a month," says Iraeven SHOCK, chairman of Barrie, adding he has a head towards the office of Royal Oak's head of operations on the other side of his wall. "It wasn't until that moment that everyone realized that they really had to get operating costs down." Barrie says that without Wite, Royal Oak would not be as profitable. "She's the one who keeps her eye on the bottom line," says Barrie. "If she wasn't here, we'd do things the easier way, and that would be more expensive."

But others note that her strength, when unleashed, can cause complications. In 1991, Wite dug in at Giese in Yelvertoft where striking workers refused to accept her contract offer. Instead of pursuing a settlement, she brought in shareholders to operate Giese in their place. As the union reacted, an explosion was set off in a corner of shift and mine were killed. A former staffer Roger Wallace Warren, has been charged with first-degree murder and will go to trial Sept. 22. For his part, Stan Hargrove, head of the Canadian Auto Workers' new union at the Giese mine, holds Royal Oak partly responsible for the miners' deaths. "All you have to do is look at the videos of the escalating violence after the miners tried to leave the mine when it was easier," said Hargrove. "You have to be really strong to do what she did."

Barrie agrees that it's understandable that Wite emerged as the influence for her shift in to mine gold and make money. "That is most of her relationships with people," he says, "she has absolutely no comprehension of how to deal with working people." Furthermore, Hargrove claims that Wite is arrogant and narcissistic in her approach. "Once she decides what's good for people, she figures that's infallible. It doesn't matter what their thinks."

Wite admits that she is "haunted" by the tragedies at the Giese mine. Still, it is not likely that her momentum will be slowed by any regrets about past mistakes or misjudgments. Wite forces herself to focus on the future and on her next challenge. She has taken on the Big Bells once—and it's only a matter of time before she takes them again.

Barrie Ainslie Wite is 1440207/PER

# Pointing fingers

**I**f the organizers of the Commonwealth Games have got burned with bad血 and decide to back out, the current cold bath on Confederation Life Insurance Co. has resulted at least one alternative sport line participating in corporate circles. Canada has some true champions in that event. The rules are simple, the equipment is minimal.

In the case of Confederation Life, the company's financial wobbles led to a suspension of life insurance as players from Ottawa to Bay Street geared up for the inevitable pay-off. By the time Confederation Life finally responded on Aug. 11, all parties concerned were in peak condition. And without missing a beat, the blouse was easily purchased out among them. Management—past and present—was investigated for every big

gesture investments in risky real estate. The findings took scrutiny was limited for supporting the strength of the established insurance operation. The directors were taken to task for their failure to act as managers. And even Great West Life, the company that was poised to bail out Confederation Life, was criticized for taking too long before bailing out.

But even among the most scrutinized major insurance companies, popularity is still a factor. The question is, how to attack the regulation of the insurance industry. Thoroughgoing, after all, is not a desired sport. And government regulation is a broad enough subject that knowing it can create the appearance of action without actually making the heat. In keeping with that spirit, the Senate banking committee, which will conduct a post-mortem on Confederation Life with a series of hearings this fall, made it clear that it is not embarking on a "whacko." Rather, it intends to probe such grand issues as regulatory policy and insurance industry structure.

Above all, the Senate's tactical review should allow everyone else to press ahead with their respective agendas while preserving a timely appearance of concern about Confederation Life's predicaments. The Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association, for one, is already up on its hands, barking about the need to create a new

Crash corporation. This proposed body would be dedicated to protecting insurance policyholders in the same manner that bank and trust companies were brought together—up to a \$50,000 limit—by the Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. (CDIC). Sounds like a solid, safe idea, right?

Wrong. A recent report from the C.D. Howe Institute, "Ensuring Future," carefully documents how government-backed deposit insurance has directly contributed to instability and instability in the domestic banking sector since it was introduced in 1990. According to the study, the CDIC has enabled weak, unregulated financial institutions to enter a newly deregulated market and to operate aggressively without incurring real risk. The CDIC safety net ultimately guarantees that their stronger peers will bail them out at a price.

So why on earth is the insurance industry—especially at a time of considerable uncertainty—eagerly volunteering to saddle itself with the same onerous obligations and inefficiencies? The answer lies in the highly flawed "deregulation" of Canada's financial services sector. At the time of deregulation, it was decided to steadily expand options for traditional forms of brokerage, mutual funds, trust companies and, increasingly, insurance companies. The result was the regulation of the insurance industry. Thoroughgoing, after all, is not a desired sport. And government regulation is a broad enough subject that knowing it can create the appearance of action without actually making the heat. In keeping with that spirit, the Senate banking committee, which will conduct a post-mortem on Confederation Life with a series of hearings this fall, made it clear that it is not embarking on a "whacko." Rather, it intends to probe such grand issues as regulatory policy and insurance industry structure.

For insurance companies, who are now slapping it out with the banks in their own market—while simultaneously trying to build a new consumer base for their broad-based range of financial products—the benefit of guaranteed growth on their clients' is making it tough to survive. Let alone compete. Just as the rules of deregulation often reward back-loaded brokerage firms to these foreign-controlled competitors out of Canadian stock markets, it is now causing firms like New York Life to withdraw from the Canadian insurance business. And unless the financial services playing field is levelled soon, there won't even be enough players left to get a good pooling match going.



BY DRIBBLE, MCM, ROTE



Commonwealth Games, sport



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# Business NOTES

## Butterflies are free

### A SECOND SERVING

The long-simmering McCain family feud boiled over again after a company board voted—for the second time in a year—to remove Wallace McCain, 64, as co-chief executive officer of McCain Foods Ltd. He shares the post with brother Harmon, 66, and the two have been fighting for years over who should succeed them at the helm of the private global food empire based in Fredericton, N.B. Wallace has proposed to resolve the dispute by issuing public stock in McCain Foods.

### BLACK INK FOR HOLLINGER

Central Black's Hollinger Inc. reported record-quarter profits of \$86.4 million on sales of \$353.5 million despite a British newspaper battle that erupted earlier this year. A spokesman for Vancouver-based Hollinger said that profits were up everywhere except in British-based Telegraph PLC where *The Daily Telegraph* is engaged in a price war with Rupert Murdoch's *The Times*.

### HELPING THE COMPETITION

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission directed Canadian's major telephone companies to serve—and pay for—a notice to customers this fall explaining the services offered by the companies' new long-distance telephone. A new player also entered the long-distance carrier scene as Montreal-based Fonicore Inc. reached agreement with the Canadian National Railway Co. to upgrade Gte's fibre-optic long-distance lines.

### STILL ON THE JOB

Liquidators for failed Confederation Life Insurance Co. of Toronto said that about 80 per cent of the 1,900 Canadian employees will keep their pay for up to 12 months. "In view of the active discussions in progress with potential purchasers," say 179 people, nearly from the administration support and marketing divisions, have been laid off since regulators seized the company last month.

### COUNTING ON GAIT

The new version of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which comes into effect next year, will result in a permanent annual gain of \$400 for a family of four, according to a new federal treasury department study. The study also projects relatively little disruption to the domestic economy as a result of the agreement—which was signed by more than 100 countries—but tariff levels and trade policies will change.

"Maclean Hunter claims that, because Rogers can sell the U.S. subsidiaries without corporate tax, and the budget proposal has 'opened the playing field in favour of a takeover candidate.'

Two days after the budget, MH demanded—and got—a meeting with taxation officials to seek an exception, or so-called grandfathering. But Dodge advised Martin that proceeding otherwise to 1997 would be seen as taking sides in a matter between two companies in the private sector. "If the government were to provide an exception to the rules for Maclean Hunter, the government would be perceived to be偏袒 (biased) in a memorandum to Martin. It concluded:

"This would be politically embarrassing and could signal a signal to other taxpayers to invoke lobbying efforts for their particular concerns."

In his note to Martin, Dodge also had a more immediate warning: Rogers has served notice that it would strongly object to any specific accommodation to prevent being forced by the government to Maclean Hunter's "Phil

Land." Rogers vice-chairman, acknowledges that the company knows about its quarry's lobbying efforts. Rogers chairman Gerald Emerson wrote a letter to Martin on Feb. 24, the same day his officials were telling to 1997. In the letter, Emerson urged Martin to stay out of the takeover struggle. "Any special creation or exemption to Maclean Hunter would be without public policy justification and discriminatory in other taxpayers," Emerson wrote. MH president Jim Dolceco declined to comment.

In the end, a technology error put Rogers close to a sudden tax bill. Because it planned to put MH into the hands of a trustee until government regulators approved the takeover, Rogers lingered in its taxpayer status. Finally, Finance officials realized that the Income Tax Act was not intended to prevent a temporary transaction connected with a five-year windup.

**Marion** *is decisive role in a controversial corporate takeover*



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Every week Maclean's magazine brings you the events, the people, and the stories that matter. From a Canadian point of view. Because we don't just cover the news, we cover what matters to Canadians.





# Calling Jacques Parizeau's bluff

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**B**ack on June 21, 1980, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau sent to the House of Commons a bill to amend the Constitution of Canada. It was just two days before the Meech Lake accord was due to die and the prime minister's optimism was a delicate balancing act trying to bring the provinces' governments along on side. At the time, Trudeau believed that Clark Wells' bill would have won enough support to hold a referendum on Meech of all provinces of the Newfoundland Islands to decide the members on the one. Wells never did allow the vote and Meech died. But that speech Meech gave that night, its many twists written by himself on the place, has given to St. John's, Newfoundland, a lesson in the current Quebec election campaign.

Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard agree on anything apart from the fact that they're grand chaps who want to destroy Canada. It's just the details of March Lake give their cause the look of a sealed "Thirty years of struggle ended in failure, broken promises and shattered dreams for Quebec." Bouchard has commented in part about every speech that has given since he became a full-time independence crusader. "Quebecers remember the rebellion in particular of the March Lake accord in 1980, and we should not forget that the five constitutional conditions up to Quebec at the time were the most modest ever to be advanced by a Quebec Government."

John Abbott, the renegade Liberal who failed to get Robert Bourassa's Liberals to adopt his radical nationalist platform, has launched Meech in the main telling terms: "Coming on the heels of more than 20 years of sustained effort of the 1987 constitutional pact, the failure of the March Lake accord was clearly an event of historic significance," he wrote at the time. "It was perceived as a rebuff by Canada to recognize the distinct value of Quebec's society, further proof that it

**Many fear that a PQ victory will mean another constitutional talk-fest. No way. Once Parizeau's in, Quebec's out.**

was responsible for Quebec to obtain within the existing federal structure, the powers vested in its survival and full development."

There was so much overblown rhetoric to follow on all sides of that failed initiative that the question was to: can any man in Canada, even now, is to remember about Meech and its impact. But those lawyers from Quebec were real, and were now paying the consequences for what happened.

As the Quebec campaign grinds to its all but inevitable conclusion of a separated victory at the polls—with a referendum to follow—it's useful to recall Meech's words that long ago evening in St. John's: "No body can predict the future," he said. "But I know that if Mr. Trudeau gets a chance to have a referendum, that on referendum night, as you and all the rest of us, too, at that night, when you're sitting there with your families and your children, one thought is going to go through your mind. And that thought is: 'Do you want to tell me we could have avoided all of this through March Lake?' If that night were ever to come, the terms of Meech Lake are going to look very reasonable."

That was a prophetic insight worth consid-

ering for anyone who still lays the March Lake line that a vote for the Parti Québécois doesn't necessarily mean independence, at least not until a referendum is held on the issue a year or so later.

That's the PQ's own platform (an excellent English translation by journalist Robert Chodat is available in bookstores under the title *Quebec is a New World*). It's an essential read because it sets out precisely and emotionally what Parizeau has in store for his province and our country.

Once in office, the PQ will ask the National Assembly to approve a resolution affirming Quebec's independence and will then create a constitutional commission to define its terms. The PQ's published platform details the first steps towards separation it would take: a Parizeau government will take certain that all taxes imposed in Quebec are collected by the new Quebec government, that laws which apply to Quebec citizens emanate from the Quebec National Assembly, and that international treaties are redrafted in a form that will require ratification by the new Quebec.

The ultimate intention of Ottawa is as a warning to Parizeau to seek his separation timetable and, as his platform puts it, the "possibilities of a constitutional process and the determination of the rules for dividing Canadian assets of debts." Parizeau's main aim before calling the referendum will be to draft a new constitution which will be submitted to the people. In other words, the referendum will not deal with whether Quebecers want to stay in Canada, but only on how the new republic, on the St. Lawrence, should define itself.

Even if Parizeau has appealed to suffice in all directions during the current election campaign, his party platform is crystal clear about the details of his intention: Quebec's incoming lieutenant-governor would, as the Queen's representative, be fired and replaced by a "ceremonial head of state," all federal property under Quebec (approximately including the \$400 million St. Lawrence Seaway) would be seized without compensation, and so on. The Quebec Republic would of course get to keep such Canadian advantages as its currency and passport facilities.

Browsing through the PQ's platform is illuminating. Many Canadians will believe that if Parizeau is elected, we'll promptly sink into yet another constitutional talk-fest, trying to square the circle of French-English relations in this hemisphere, led at arms.

So why does Parizeau's out, Quebec's out. "It's urgent to achieve Quebec sovereignty as rapidly as possible," the PQ leader insists. His urgency is understandable. On Aug. 8, Parizeau celebrated his 54th birthday. The known is his only one shot at being the first head of state of the new Quebec. Lucien Bouchard, who is only 55, has a bit more time, which explains why he's advancing a much more cautious and gradual approach. But the other two of both, more presents a clear and present danger to Canada's future



Alley, surrounded by 'uncatagurable' problems

## OUT OF ANONYMITY

**M**ichael Riley does drug stuff for others. For Michael Bain, a new movie by Canadian director Darren Aronofsky that opens this week, Riley has reached his peak by taking to modified masters at the University of California at Los Angeles, where he has been teaching for the past three years. "It's like Riley," says Riley. "He's a great, iconic, portentous sort of a cracked-pyramid doctor combining his past to the tragic of Goya's *God Spare a Soul* and a supporting role in Lawrence Ferlinghetti's *Wise Men*. Paul Mescal and Riley star, but for now, anonymity counts. Riley's been known as an opera-leaving brewery worker in *Playboy* (1990) and as a determined cop in the 1989 TV series *To Catch a Killer* but in Hollywood, that talent has a downside. "We had people in LA say point-blank, 'We're going to take you longer hair because you're more memorable,'" says the wacky they keep saying." says Riley. Still, he has another part in the upcoming comedy *The Matador* (1991) and *God Spare a Soul* is a supporting role in Lawrence Ferlinghetti's *Wise Men*. Paul Mescal and Riley star, but for now, anonymity counts. Riley's been known as an opera-leaving brewery worker in *Playboy* (1990) and as a

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## OPPORTUNITY ROCKS

**I**t was a prophetic gift. A little more than a year ago, Montreal newspaper columnist and city councillor Nick Auf der Mauer bought his daughter Melissa a hand-painted guitar—*and guitars strung across with the Montreal band Underworld's job as a bus player at Blue*, the South-based group led by Courtney Love, widow of grunge superstar Kurt Cobain, who shot himself to death on April 5 last week. Auf der Mauer sponsored Blue for the first time before 40,000 people on the main stage at the Reading Music Festival at Reading. And in October, she and the band will play on Saturday Night Live.

Still, Blue has a troubled past, previous bassist Kristen Plaff died following a heroin overdose, and Love has a volatile personality. "I know it will be a lot of work, but it's too great an opportunity to turn down in less," says Auf der Mauer, who was recommended to Love by a mutual friend, Billy Corgan of the Chicago group Smashing Pumpkins. Auf der Mauer stands stiffly behind his daughter's decision to play on the controversial group. "That's what bass guitarists are for."



## MAKING AN IMPRESSION

**F**or West Coast artist Ray Blasity Winkler, the Commonwealth Games, which rolled in Victoria on the weekend, rekindled special memories. The 48-year-old Vancouver native's association with Queen Elizabeth II, who stayed at the Games, extended back to 1977. When he met her in 1977, he received a Silver Jubilee Award for his artistic accomplishments. In 1987, she accepted one of his paintings. This year, although he did not see the Queen, the Games did other benefits for the Dallas, B.C.-based Winkler. Many Germans visitors dropped into his new art gallery in Victoria, the Eagle's Moon, where the profits will go to support an adoptions recovery centre that he hopes to establish in central British Columbia. As well, an art show at the 1992-meets-1996 exhibition, *Commonwealth Games: The Games, the Art, the People and their Commonwealth*, 45-year-old Winkler contributed an ornate, modelled after tradition, all-wood Indian longhouse, which other design features. "I saw the greatest opportunity of my life," Winkler explained. "To make an impression on the world of how much we need to honor our people." Judging from the positive reactions of many visitors, he succeeded.



## OLD PUNKERS NEVER DIE

**E**ven as punk crews were cresting up after the rock last who at the 25th anniversary of Woodstock in August, another rock extravaganza arrived. In 1978, three associated young musicians from New York City all adopted the last name Basie and formed their rough, angry songs about urban decay and revolution into the music scene. Now, 20 years later and no longer the hand row now, here—*the Ramones, known for their 1979 hit song 'Rock 'n' Roll High School'*, have just released a new album, *Just Believe*. And, much to their surprise, it includes a selection of Woodstock generation tunes including Creedence Clearwater Revival's *Have You Seen the Sun?* and Jimi Hendrix's *Smells Like Teen Spirit*. "We wanted to do some of our favorite songs—the songs that inspired us," explains lead singer Joey Ramone, one of the two original band members. (The other is guitarist Johnny Ramone.) And their shows are a treat not just their original audience, but a new era of fans. "It's kind of cool to look out at the audience and see a whole range of ages," says Johnny. "Older people and younger people are getting together over our music." Just like the Woodstock remain-

ers, continuing in the art of sport

Edited by JOE CIRILLO

# An island of death and memory

They came to honor the dead and to remember a tragedy. About 400 people, most of them Irish-Canadians, arrived by boat at Grosse-Île, a beautiful but unsanitary island in the St. Lawrence River, 45 km northeast of Quebec City. They commemorated the thousands of impoverished Irish immigrants who died of typhus and cholera while quarantined at the island in the mid-1800s. But the Aug. 21 ceremony was a historic occasion in its own right—the first visit to the island by the prime minister. As part of her 10-day tour of Canada, which also ends this week in Montreal, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien laid a wreath at a mass grave on Grosse-Île and told the crowd that similar acts of compassion are occurring today in Rwanda and Somalia. "This is a hallmark moment," Chrétien said. "It is a moment to connect us with the terrible realities of our current world."

The悲痛ful solemn ceremony was dampened by heavy rain and dark fog—and the future of the site remains a bit cloudy, as well. In 1992, Parks Canada officials released a plan to develop Grosse-Île as a national historic site dedicated to 20th and early 21st-century immigrant rights. But Irish-Canadian groups protested that it downplayed the suffering of their ancestors who fled the calamitous potato famine of the late 1840s. "They sought to re-guar the Irish experience on Grosse-Île to a footnote, and to lump us together with British immigrants," says Michael Quigley, a Charlottetown-based writer who helped found a coalition of 150 groups opposed to the original plan. "The truth is that Grosse-Île is an Irish graveyard." Eleven days before Chrétien's visit, Ottawa tried again. Canadian Heritage Minister Michel Duguay announced a new concept that places particular emphasis on the Irish tragedy. Parks Canada officials estimate that the project could cost up to \$10 million over five years—but some Irish Canadian activists remain doubtful that their ancestors' stories will be adequately told.

For most of each year, Grosse-Île is tranquil, empty and forlorn. And even during the summer months, only 15,000 to 30,000 tourists visit the wood-island which, while just 35 km long and nearly a kilometre wide, is rich in history. From 1862 until 1931, it served as a

quarantine station for immigrants arriving in Canada after their transatlantic crossings. During the Second World War, the department of national defense used the island as a secret weapons research site. And from 1865 until the mid-1880s, the federal department of agriculture quarantined imported cattle and sheep to ensure that they were disease-free.

But the heart of the Grosse-Île story harks back to 1847—the so-called summer of sorrow. It occurred during the height of the Irish famine, which was caused partly by a mysterious blight that had ruined the potato crop for three successive years and that eventually left a million dead from starvation. The British government, which ruled Ireland, tried public works projects and soup kitchens—a response so inadequate that many historians now argue that, in effect, the British simply allowed the Irish to starve. In 1847 alone, an estimated 260,000 people fled their homeland for North America, but thousands of these would-be settlers never made it to new homes in Upper and Lower Canada, the two parts of North America colonies that later became Ontario and Quebec.

The first ship arrived at Grosse-Île in mid-May and by the end of that month, 26 vessels, with almost 12,000 passengers aboard, were anchored off the island. Hundreds had died during the voyage—government officials who inspected the lower decks of the ships often found the sick lying next to corpses. At first, some of the living were brought ashore for treatment, but the medical facilities on Grosse-Île were so inadequate that the government decreed that most of the passengers would have to remain on board until the ships were cleared to continue their voyage to Quebec City or Montreal. That, many historians now say, was a mistake: an epidemic of typhus—a disease transmitted by body lice and accompanied by high fever, delirium and headaches—spread far faster and more easily than it would have if the immigrants had been allowed to go ashore. Some historians estimate that more than 60,000 Irish immigrants set out for British North America in 1847, and nearly 20,000 died during the crossing or shortly after arriving.

For visitors today, 20 historical buildings remain as reminders of Grosse-Île's tumultuous past. But only one, the grey, weathered one-story wooden hospital, still stands from the 1840s. A dozen or so white wooden crosses mark the mass graves of the immigrants. Touring above the moribund scene is a 16-m-high Celtic cross, made of granite and erected in 1909 by an Irish cultural group, the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Parks Canada now plans to refurbish some of the old buildings and to use one of them as an interpretive centre—a place, Irish-Canadian hope, to better tell future generations about the "summer of sorrow."



Thousands of poor Irish immigrants died of disease at Grosse-Île

DANICK JONES with MARK CAMPBELL on Grosse-Île

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**MACLEAN'S CONGRATULATES**  
**CECIL**  
**DeLONG**

**THE P.E.I. AUTOMOBILE  
DEALERS ASSOCIATION 1994  
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In 1942, Cecil DeLong was an apprentice with the Ford Motor Company in Windsor, Ontario, where he was raised to drive in an officer with the Royal Canadian Air Force in the Second World War. Now, as president of Hiltzite Motors in Charlottetown, P.E.I., he fights the good fight for the best values in his business and personal life.

In 1945, on return from overseas with the RCAF, Cecil became a Ford Motor Company district sales manager in Saint John, N.B. From 1973 until 1977, he was the General Sales Manager at Hiltzite Motors in Charlottetown, where he has been president of the Fortune Buick and GMC truck dealership now for the past 17 years.

Cecil has been a member of PADA for 32 years and was vice-president of PADA as well as president of the P.E.I. Dealers Association. Currently, he is president of the General Motors Fortune Buick GMC Maritime Dealers Marketing Association.

Cecil is used to being a winner — as an eleven year recipient of the General Motors President's Triple Crown Award — so winning this year's Mid-Isleman Top Award for Driving Performance.

Cecil is an active volunteer with the Rotary Club of Charlottetown and the Graduate Camp for Disabled Children. He is also a sponsor of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital as well as the Upper Room Soup Kitchen and Food Bank.

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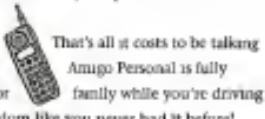
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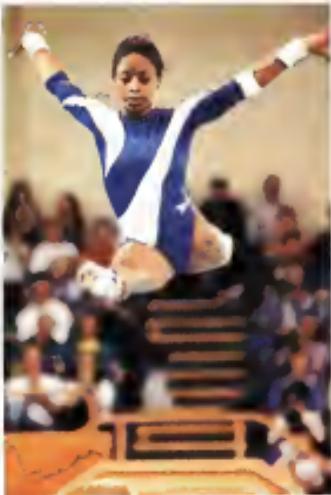
# All that glitters

*Victoria lowers a curtain on the Commonwealth Games*

In her black and purple leotard, white T-shirt, denim pants, and wire-rim dark glasses and Doc Martens, Shelly Unoch is here to tell apart at a glance from the young teens who flock around her for autographs. But the professionalism that the Mississauga, Ont., 19-year-old has acquired after spending two-thirds of her young life as a competitive gymnast was unmistakable last week in Victoria—especially under the lights of the gymnastics arena at the '94 Commonwealth Games. After promising performances at the 1992 Olympics and after two top competitions, the years of training finally came together for Unoch in a dazzling gold-medal performance on the vault and a silver in the uneven bars. She also won gold in the women's individual all-around competition and anchored Canada's women's team gymnastics silver—making her Canada's biggest winner at the Games. For the five-foot, 105-pound Unoch, it was a gleaming halo to her career: she announced her intention to retire after her last week's competition and is now headed to the University of California at Los Angeles to study economics. "I want to be a sportscaster," she explained, adding, "I think I pushed my career further on a little with Commonwealth gold."

For the hundreds of winners showcased in gold, silver and bronze over 10 days of Commonwealth competition, from Aug. 28 to Sept. 7, different things to different people. England's Labourer Christian Maxwell almost offended as he appealed to the gold medal in the 300-m in a Commonwealth record time of 59.81 seconds. There was soft legato singing and, though short, the card counter who followed Cheeta across the line and then literally rolled on the ground with excitement. Hence Doreen Johnson's silver was the first-ever, from any major games, for the tiny, impoverished west African country of Sierra Leone and its 4.3 million people. Declared the 27-year-old sprinter: "This could be for them."

Among Canadians, runner Angela Chaloner delivered the goods before an ec-



Unoch soaring to four medals and a fine finale to her career

static home-town crowd, winning the 3,000-m race in 8:32.17, shaving six seconds off her 1992 Commonwealth Games record. Toronto's doublets Michael Smith won his second gold in as many Commonwealth Games, shooting all two years of inquiry-plagued drama. "I came in here ranked No. 1 in the Commonwealth," he says, "I wanted to go out of here No. 1." Overall, Canada cracked the Games as No. 2 in the medal table, trailing Australia, whose athletics virtually ruled the Commonwealth pool, winning 25 winning golds.

Such reigns, however, seemed at odds with the relaxed atmosphere that prevailed last week in Victoria. Certainly, the crowds of up to 70,000 people who flocked into the closed-down downtown streets

for free night-time concerts and fireworks were anything but clamorous, cheering for all the medalists who were introduced from a stage at the B.C. legislature. An assassination by Chaloner and fellow Victorian Balvyn Mungar, who took the 3,000-m silver, prompted a heart-lift, unscripted rendition of O Canada. But, in a gesture in keeping with the Games' offbeat friendly spirit, the usually stony-faced crowd gave its unanimous ovation for the assassinated Dave Robson.

The Games' shortcomings did have their critics. Controversy struck the closing day in the second week, when several African coaches accused white judges of racism in their decisions. Some people argued about the steep price of tickets to the most popular events (up to \$125 for seats at the opening and closing ceremonies) or the slow delivery of competition results on the Games' just-designed computer system. B.C. taxpayers, meanwhile, will have to wait until the end of the year to receive a full accounting of the \$180 million—including federal, provincial and corporate contributions—spent to mount the Games.

Whether such massive undertakings are worth the public expense at any time is a subject based to pursue debate. One answer to the question, however, could be gleaned at the next level of representation from other countries that came to Victoria to take notes on their own plans to host similar games. Among them were officials from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, site of the next Commonwealth Games in 1998. Winnipeg, which will host the Pan American Games in 1999, and Quebec City, which wants to host the Winter Olympics in 2002. South Africa's Milado George, president of that country's Commonwealth Games Association, meanwhile, told reporters that "if we do not host for the Commonwealth Games in 2002, we will bid for 2006."

Canada's Unoch, meanwhile, did not apologize for her decision to dedicate her adolescence to finding excellence. "I've become more of a whole person," she said. "The learned independence, motivation. I've gotten to travel all over the world." As athletes from around the globe headed home after closing ceremonies, they could take with them memories of achievement and fellowship that promised to endure long after the last anthem was played and the last torch had spiteted out over Victoria Harbour.

CHRIS WOOD in Victoria

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**MACLEAN'S CONGRATULATES**

**JIM  
BONNYMAN**

**THE NOVA SCOTIA AUTOMOBILE  
DEALERS ASSOCIATION 1994  
MACLEAN'S DEALER OF  
EXCELLENCE AWARD WINNER**

Jim Bonnyman is the president of Bonnyman Pontiac Buick Ltd. in New Minas, Nova Scotia. His career in the automobile industry began in 1974 at Scotts Chevy Olds in Halifax, N.S. For 12 years Jim was a Bank of Nova Scotia manager at various branches throughout Nova Scotia. While in the bank, one of his clients—the president of Scotts Chevy Olds—was instrumental in getting Jim on to the automobile industry, appointing him as sales manager.

In 1978, Jim founded his own dealership which currently has 26 dedicated employees, all who, in his own words, "treat the customers like family."

Bonnyman Pontiac Buick Ltd. is a part of the Amherst Valley Automobile Dealers Association and Jim has been a FADA member for 16 years. He has also been a past FADA president as well as a past president of his provincial association. His dealership is also part of Performance Incorporated.

Jim is also active in his community as a member of the Rotary Club of Kentville, the Masonic Lodge and the local Board of Trade.

**Maclean's**  
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**Congratulations Jim**

## Diamond in the rough

**A** nthony Sanders steps up to the plate, stares fixedly at the pitcher, adjusts his stance, then takes a half-step at the first pitch. "Nice swing," yells a fan—earnestly, without sarcasm. This is a long-term goal. And when, on his next pitch, the right-fielder for the St. Catharines Blue Jays bats one

## *Strike-weary fans opt for minor-league baseball*

tiner in his lifetime years are all part of the situation. So it's watch-and-wait all along the sugar league strike as the walkout entered its third week, owners and players and fans in New York City but reported no progress. Meanwhile, the walkout was boasting troubadour in St. Catharines—more than 1,100 for the Walkout game from just over \$600 on an average night. "We're getting a lot of calls—over—one from Toronto," says the team's general manager, Tim Harrison. "So the strike worked out all right for us."

The single A division in a field of dreams "If they don't expect to make it to the major leagues, they'll fail," says J. P. Oates, a former Toronto Blue Jays outfielder who

to disk about it," says Michael Pukens, a 39-year-old father of two who drives the hour and a half from St. Catharines (population 250,000) to Toronto's Skydome a few times each year. He prefers local ball anyway, he says, partly because the best action is in the house, roads and (S)—but also because of the

Single A is on the second rung of the professional ladder, and is from inside ball parks. "It's a great place to go to see baseball," says Parker. "Here, there's regular people living with regular people."

The major league teams who draft these players award some of them signing bonuses, from \$1,000 to several hundred

for \$10 per cent every day at we could not get out of here. It's a do-or-die situation." And Leystra of Canadas, Ont., the Japs' only informant, says that he and the other men all talk about it in the bullpen. "You feel of comfort; everything—figure out what the Japanese do different and try to do

The minors are also about community

long youths help ease the struggle. "It's nice to have kids come up to you after the race," says Amoruso. "Even if you haven't won a hot all season, they're still standing there with an old beat-up bell and a pen—and guess what, it brings your spirits up a lot." In fact, the drivers often let their fans

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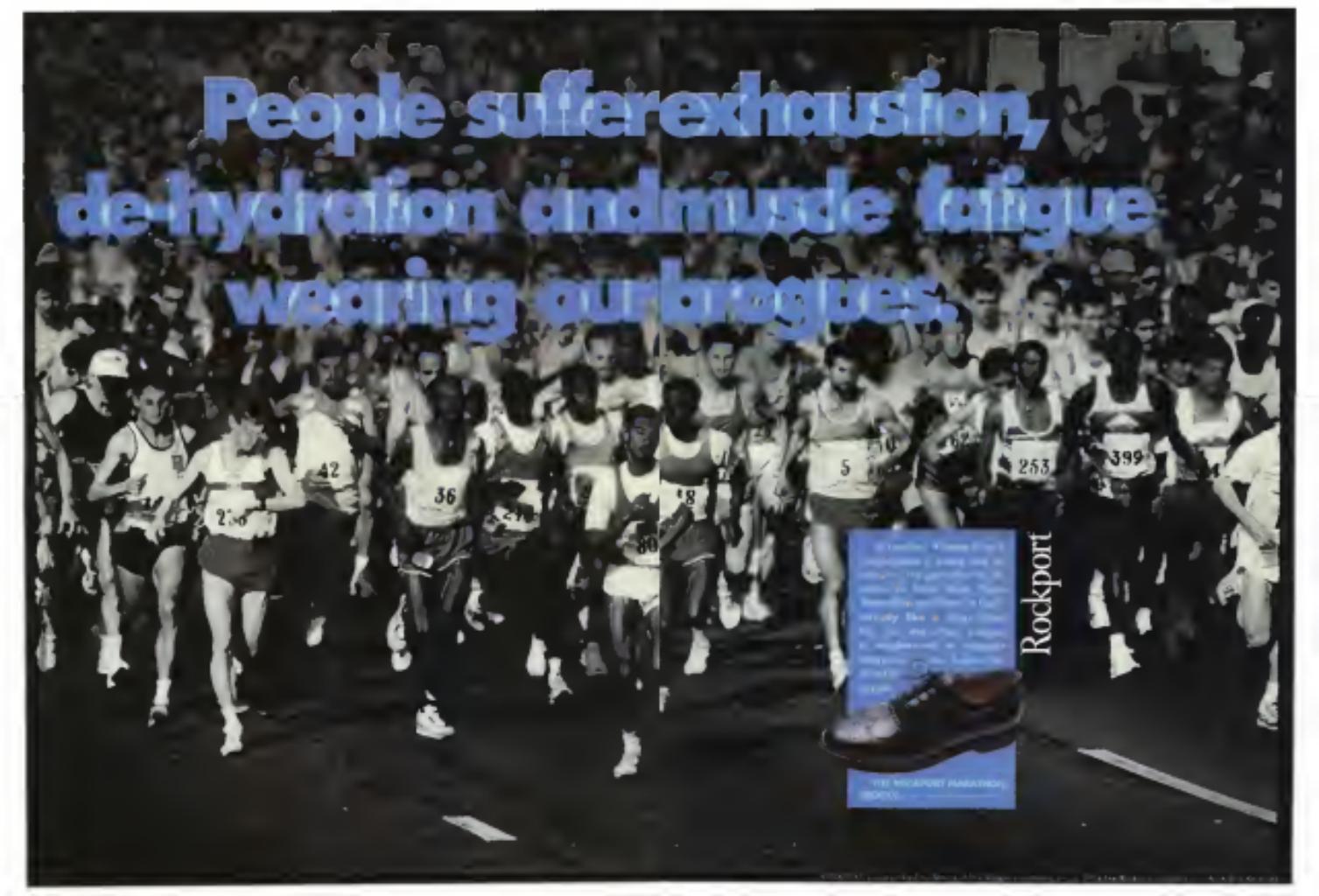


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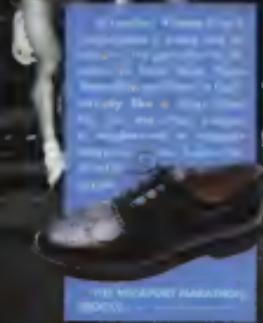


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# Eve of destruction?

*A special explores the dangers of global consumerism*

**THE HUMAN RACE**  
(CBC, Sept. 6, 13, 20, 27, 9 p.m.)

**G**one are the Berlin Wall, the Soviet empire, the greatest international conflict in decades. Even Communist China is experimenting with free-market reforms. The sense of apocalyptic hope that has enveloped in South Africa, and peace may be breaking out in the Middle East. For globe-trotting historian, military analyst and London-based Canadian journalist Guyana Dyer, these unexpected developments have profound implications. "I had, I guess, the standard set of assumptions about how things work that stood me in good stead throughout two decades of writing about international affairs—and then they fell apart," he recently told *Marianne's*. "What had a tremendous impact on me from about 1985 on was that there were large areas of the world, and increasing areas of the world, where change was actually occurring, dramatic change, against what I had assumed to be the current, in most ways irrelatively unchanging ways."

So Dyer, best known for his critically acclaimed seven-part 1983 NFB documentary *Her*, began to rethink some of his older assumptions, including, as he acknowledges, the notion "that change is usually violent and often for the worse, that most things end in tears that the world is going to hell in a hand-basket." And what has emerged is an wise-bone and thought-provoking four-hour documentary called *The Human Race*. The program's primary thesis, what we often take as an expression of human nature, is, in fact, more controversial: that at a crucial turning point in the history of civilization, most be left behind to ensure survival and species. "Male bonobos will stand and batter in equality of the sexes—it all depends," Dyer states in *The Human Race*. "Same goes for whether we are weaker of peaceful, democratic or authoritarian. Change the way we live and you may also change the way we behave towards each other."

In the hotdog rest towards the 35th cen-

tury, change is occurring at an unprecedented rate. Take India, a country of 850 million, where Dyer locates one growing source of consumption. "It's a country where consumption increased by a factor of 10 in a single decade. Its costs play through global markets every day, from pay channel television shows to the aid given off through rubbish in the shadow of advertising billboards bearing such slogans as 'There is a second color'?" Thank for "to think in a second color?" Thank for "to



**Mexicans demonstrating against poverty**  
Dyer (below):  
"There's a huge shift in wealth and power under way in the world right now."



Such surging images underscore the main idea of modernization. But Dyer goes further to illustrate an unstoppable trend: the emergence of a global consumer society. "In the Third World's turn," he says, "the document argues that it is the West that is responsible for the Third World's turn to mass consumption." It's not the natural desire of humans to be poor, just as there's no natural desire that people in the North will always be richer. In fact, there's a longer shift in wealth and power under way in the world this time."

Within 30 years, Dyer predicts, there will

be about 10 billion consumers on the planet, posing grave environmental dangers. In Mexico City, by far the world's most polluted metropolis, there are now three million cars—and the number is expected to double by the year 2000. "You cannot really blame the Mexicans," Dyer states. "About one-fifth of the world's people now have their own cars, TVs, radios and microphones. And collectively, these billion First World people account for four-fifths of the consumption in the world." But now, the rest of the human race is chasing the same goals—and a lot of them are going to make it.

Dyer argues that the communication revolution, especially the spread of television, is spreading the greed of consumption. "People all over the Third World can see through the mass media's numbers, thanks to the modern mass media," he says. "They know how we live and what we have, and they want it, too." He adds: "The same technology that's given us mass communication has also given us mass production, mass consumption. Weapons of mass destruction, the ability to wreck our entire planet. We're in a race—and unless we take the final step, we could lose everything." The double meaning of the documentary's title suddenly becomes apparent.

Just what is that final step? Unless the industrialized world makes some drastic changes, Dyer predicts, civilization is doomed. "We are all going to have to share the sacrifices," he states, adding that global rules are going to have to be set, and the West, which has pioneered interconsumption, is going to have to adjust to having less. What is needed, he argues, is an increased awareness of the planet as a global village. And while the mass media had communication on the one hand, he believes that they may actually hold the key to the planet's survival. "We can see everybody else in the world now and they can all tell us," he says. "Everyone is telling us all the same thing. Which is just as well—because our culture is dying."

While Ayn Rand's caution, Dyer arrives at an optimistic conclusion. "No promises," he states. "But maybe, and maybe, the world is changing fast enough to have a chance." Whether his words prove prophetic remains to be seen. Still, *The Human Race* is a wake-up call for a planet that cannot afford to sleepwalk into the next century.

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## FILMS

# Man versus woman

*Two lovers become embroiled in a classic dispute*

**THE DARLING FAMILY**  
Directed by Alan Zweig

End all the violence and mayhem of summer movies, watching *The Darling Family* is like entering an aeronautic cabin. It is a small Canadian film with just two main characters, a man and a woman, who are trying but fail to speak to each other, who do everything together. That is, No grunts, no fistfights, no verbal jabs, just well-laid-out instructions how to handle an unplanned pregnancy. It is an intense therapy session, as the man tries to escape into relationship hell. The film has no cinematic verve and poetological insight, but the special, deadlocked drama demands a lot of patience from the viewer. It is like one of those everlasting late-night discussions that had to be destined to go nowhere.

Toronto-based actor-writer Linda Griffiths,



Wilcox (left), Griffiths, relationship hell

best known for her 1990 one-woman show, *Maggie and Irene*, adapted *The Darling Family* from her 1991 play. She rejoins her stage co-star, Alia Wilcox, and both deliver strong performances. Starkly directed by Alan Zweig, the movie unfolds in a series of

dialogues mixed with internal monologues. Often, the characters break out of their conversation and start tracking out loud—a theatrical conceit that seems necessary on film.

The two characters are engaged in a classic male-female conflict. She is yearning to have the baby; he worries about losing his independence. The question of abortion hangs over their discussion, although the debate is not polarized along the lines of pro-choice versus pro-life, rather than making moral judgments about abortion, the film explores just what a complex and difficult choice it is.

And the couple's conflict illuminates the broader issue of male-female relationships. She is revision, a barrier of sage green and foliage of crystals. He is practical, a middle-aged simpleton addicted to Henry-Brandt rosé wine. Neither has learned to be adult—indeed. The reference to the Darling family of *Peter Pan*, that is the one who leads the growing-up process, prevailing. Their discussions and attempting to get beneath the surface of things. He is a man who keeps insisting that there is nothing to it. As an aside, in *The Darling Family*, Zweig tries to tell the film, like the relationship, parents and child are impossible corner, and the movie's flat resolution leaves the viewer as disillusioned as the protagonists.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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# Fiction's ringmaster

**John Irving's new novel, *A Son of the Circus*, is a complex tale that teems with crazy life**

**D**ropping wet, John Irving stands on a dark, silent, one-roomed one of Georges Béart's The One Thousand Islands in central Ontario. Dressed like a heavy man, he has constructed his daily exercise routine. His black-and-purple tank top and yellow men's shorts are soggy. His hair is plastered wet to his skull. For the past couple of weeks, the celebrated American author has been engaged in a sacred Canadian rite—some bizarre re-enactment of the creation. The blisters and purple marks on his skin, the raw, cracked, bleeding blisters, are the result of his own chewing, seeking to find the gash, the crater for ichneumonitis, the malignant form that causes the most prevalent form of diarrhea. The blisters have brought him back to his roots.

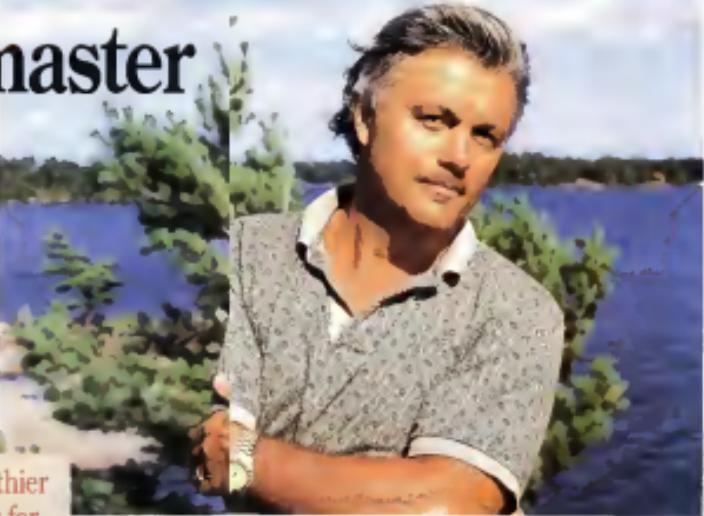
*A Son of the Circus* covers a year, three continents, eight seagoings, transoceans, the most bizarre, a pair of years separated at birth, murder, religious conversion—and, of course, the circus—over 355 rich, intricately plotted pages. Every one was completely rewritten twice during the book's 10-year gestation, Irving says that process in the title essay of his collection of shorter work, 1989's *Tryng To See Pig Stew*, "as the process, until taking with the language, for me, this means selling and rewriting the sentences until they sound as spontaneous as good conversation."

Irving says he did not realize when he started writing the novel how much it would be set in India. It turns out to be two instances. The first was Salman Rushdie's novel *Midnight's Children*, which Irving read when it was still in manuscript form; it had a powerful effect on him as both a reader and a writer. *A Son of the Circus* is dedicated to "Salman," Irving himself to point out that "that's my friend Salman," not Salman Rushdie, the polished figure. This book would always have been dedicated to Salman, with or without the terrible drug that's happened to him."

Rushdie was having dinner with Irving when he learned of his son's *Midnight's Children* and became hooked on India. For Irving, the love, love, love of India had continued. Rushdie had come to India to study the blight of the Dalits. And although neither of them was prompted by Irving's decision, their echoes reverberate throughout *A Son of the Circus*. Circling offstage is a theme of the story: it is used principally as a



**"A healthier idea is for the novelist to see himself as the slave of a good story"**



comic device, but there is also a more serious intent to it: people committing simultaneously oblivious acts are waiting after a gopher of their innate feelings and beliefs—it's a kind of thoughtless cardiac.

The book's other separation presented itself when Irving accidentally stumbled upon a Canadian expatriate, a stranger waiting at a Toronto street corner. "He looked about 60, and he was very well dressed, very dignified. It was a first or second-generation immigrant, a very taciturn, assimilated man. I thought that's happened to him," says Irving. "I was suddenly aware that he was aware of my staring at him and that it made him uncomfortable. In that instant, I thought his discomfort was almost decidedly racial. Maybe he was thinking, 'That guy is going to sit down the window of that cab and spit at me or tell me to get back where I came from.' I knew where the book would end. I knew my man would be there, after the journey back home which

didn't feel like going home, which wasn't home any more, staying on that corner." Irving says all his novels start this way—he imagined a little moment, then worked backwards to build the tale leading up to it.

Irving himself has had some experience of cultural displacement. Born in Exeter, N.H., he has shuttled between a Toronto apartment and a Turnbull living, who have been married for seven years, spent about a third of each year in Ontario and a principal residence in Vancouver. Vancouver has provided him with insights into cross-border cultural life and the Canadian view of Americans. "It is well understood in Canada how little Americans really know about Canada, but there's something you don't know about Americans in Canada—just that you never talk about it—and that is in the Americas and only do very little thinking about Americans, says the author. "I have a very low regard of Americans, the assumption that's extended to my own country. I believe it's a sense that that indifference, indifference, has never done any good for divided people and made very simple distinctions. But there's a problem to the nationalism I read about here, often reflected in a kind of pretty anti-Americanism. I find it tasteless, vulgaristic, what I read

**"Irving: drug seagoings, transoceans, the man's blisters, twins separated at birth, murder, religious conversion"**

about the United States here."

Irving speculates with some glee that *A Son of the Circus* may even score some of its Canadian and European popularity by "a certain permitted anti-Americanism in the voice of [its] weekly mentor, Rooney Whistleback (a disillusioned American who has lied to Toronto). I wonder if readers who like that about *Gone With the Wind*, and who are separated in their antipathetic toward Canada, will find the portrait of Dr. Garthwaite Toronto oddly in their blood."

Irving offers a closed reading list to illustrate his declaration that he reads authors, not personalities. Charles Dickens leads the list in favorites (*Tryng To See Pig Stew*'s closing epigraph, "The King of the Novel," is a spastic defense and passionate appreciation of Dickens's work). Then comes, in no particular order—Garrison Flather, Quiller Croft, George Eliot ("I loved Middlemarch every five or six years"), Michael Crummey, Alice Munro ("I keep thinking if her stories were about 25 or 30 pages longer, and had all been published as books, she'd be one of the bestsellers we

ever in the world,") and Graham Greene. His private takes on another dimension easily when he talks about the novel of Reference Davies: "I am astonished that he is not better known than he is," says Irving. "He is not only wonderful in all the literary ways, but he is staggeringly accessible." Irving has nominated Davies for the Nobel Prize several times.

Talking about novels and novelists seems almost machinelike in an age when setting fiction is often seen as merely propaganda as selling the movie rights. Two of Irving's books have been made into films. In 1982, director George Roy Hill completed the movie of *The World According to Garp*, and Alain Silverman made the same year's *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*. Irving has also scripted the screen for *The Cider House Rules* and written the first draft of a movie version of *A Prayer for Owen Meany*. He does not expect that any of them will be produced anytime soon, but given the fact that his novels usually command the bestseller lists, he is not particularly worried that they could languish unproduced forever. "I could write two sequels a year and not make as much money in 10 years as I do writing one novel every five years. My only advantage in the movie business is that I'm not on the business. I'm not doing it for the money. I have a day job, and my day job is novels."

Producers have eagerly sought Irving's work as film fodder, but in order to buy anything, they have to sign a letter of agreement spelling out a few non-negotiable conditions they cannot change the story. Irving gets to approve the director, the director must have a final cut and cannot be interviewed after the studio has gone even near as to cast the film and spend money on pre-production before buying the rights to the story. But when they pull out their checkbooks to acquire it, they find Irving intractable on his central demands. "If somebody wants to go and spend half a million dollars interviewing me with who they can get to star in it, and all of that, let them spend their money. Ultimately, they have to come back and say, 'OK, now we want to buy it.' And I'll say, 'But you're buying that script.' *[The Cider House Rules]*, right? Jerry [Jerry, not the guy where the [Dyson] girl gets the abortion, she left that part out.] And I just say, 'Well, I have a day job.'"

And the proof of that job is probably superior to my screen adaptation of *A Son of the Circus*: his novel is an experience that film cannot duplicate. Not everyone agrees with that assessment, of course. Despite the legions of passionate, raving readers, there are some critics Irving wishes would simply be more honest about their sympathy towards his bumbling, complex tales. "I can sympathize with someone who sees a book by me coming and says, 'Aaah! Not that guy!' It would be a refreshment to read a really nasty review of a book at that stage," says John Irving. "Always have. And now that."

JUSTIN SMALLFIELD is in Gaspesie Bay



# Gazing across a great divide

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**C**onsumption, communication. It destroys marriages and can destroy countries. That would be lack of communication of course. Ask any marriage counsellor.

The battle for Quebec as a part of Canada runs along the same lines. The separatist leaders claim that the rest of Canada doesn't understand the Quebecois, didn't understand the importance of Meech Lake, won't understand what's "distinct society" means.

This is probably true, but the ignorance runs both ways. The *Globe and Mail*, for the Quebec election campaign, offered a weekly column to Pierre Bourgault, the linguistic separatist commentator. The idea was to give him a chance to contribute a calm explanation of the separatist logic.

He started off well—and calmly—with well-written expositions of the Parti Quebecois. He then wrote a column on Jacques Parizeau, saying he was greatly misunderstood by those outside Quebec, that is, that a fact along with being highly intelligent and a man at conviction he exhibited great compassion. He finished by writing a column that is probably why you have an "huh."

"You're all wrong," interred everyone who reads *The Globe and Mail*. If he really believes that, you know there is no hope for an understanding. In the strange, confused and frightened country.

Pierre Bourgault is now a permanent in *Montreal*. He wrote everywhere and eventually became contemptuous of *Montreal's* gradual approach in the idea of real separation. The late's "sovereignty-association" idea has been described—accurately—as the voice with the loudest prologue. Part of his reason for leaving PQ for the same reason—it wasn't going fast enough—and remained only when he became leader to act it out on his chosen path.

"Hate" is a terrible word because it is a self-destructive word. Anyone who hates someone as much as me in the summer there is no room left over for understanding or co-operation. Anger is one thing. Hate is another, to be widely avoided.

As angry as are *Globe* readers polled out, they do not hate *Montreal* or *Bourgault*. They simply hate what they are trying to do to the country.



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There is something revealing and very

self-revealing in the *Bourgault* comment. It is the self-revealed belief of the separated intellectuals that the world revolves around them. In the comment is the assumption that *Bourgault* himself, who has not been prominent in recent years—until the esteemed Jacques Parizeau—is no well-known in *Bourgault*, *Kostant* and *Habits* that people have time to sit around and hate him.

He leaves the country, he used to travel it when he promoted his books and explained the separatist gospel from Vancouver to Toronto, and yet he doesn't understand it in 1994. He hasn't hate facts the debate.

One of the reasons he doesn't understand Canada is that the Quebec intellectuals who control their quality newspapers and magazines never try to explain the Canadian world outside Quebec. Since the *Quebec* Breton firm started to stir, the major Canadian newspapers have upped their game in an attempt to explain Quebec to the other provinces. This magazine has long had a staff there and publishes a French-language sister magazine.

Quebec papers do not situate reporters in Western Canada, nor even in Toronto, waiting no further than Ottawa—or *Bourcier* when somebody stamps on a flag and gives them a TV freebie.

The findings of the early bilingual *Bourgault* don't want to venture so far into Canada for fear of what they might find. And *Habits*, now settled into a study of a professor's other dissertation, cannot like "hate." Not the enlightened, one might usually expect from him, to be charitable.

Parents! The *Montreal* parents are well understood, only through his description, translated by visitors from Chicago who, one suspects, don't have people in *Montreal*. He will see the ripples around *Trois-Rivières* with voices from Canadian offices who, one can assume, have nothing personal against the residents of *Bordeaux*.

That is reflected in all the polls that show the Quebecois ready to throw out a timid one-party government but quite skeptical of the idea of becoming an independent state.

We will be arguing the question, we know with conviction, two decades from now while professors contribute learned thoughts in the *Globe*.

The intellectuals at the base of *Montreal* and the compass room of the universities, *Pierre Bourgault*'s restful priest, have their own peculiar view of this country. That's their privilege, but they don't understand.

This peculiar country, in its own diffident way, in fact loves Quebec. That's why *it doesn't want it to go*.

## There is no law that says you

can't make love at 4 in the afternoon on a Tuesday

shall not study a sunset or train butterflies must pay tax on itemized moments of pleasure

may not have exotic mushrooms with your steak can't dismember in Tortola and stay there

must pack worry along with your luggage can't learn about life from a turtle

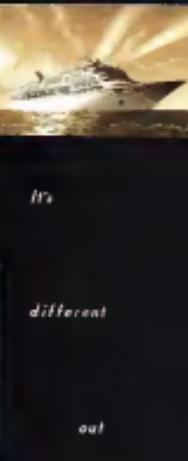
must contribute to the GNP every single voluntary day of your life

absolutely must act your chronological age and your theories shall maintain strict economies of motion

can't make love again at 5 in the afternoon on the Tuesday we spoke of earlier

because the laws of the land do not apply

the laws are different out here.



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